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the Tui Kanokupolu, the *sinae* (chiefs of the Tui Tonga's family or court), the other great chiefs, and the Falefa ministers. Though I was told that if there were no heir, the Tui Haa Takalaua would be elevated to the office of Tui Tonga and a new Tui Haa Takalaua appointed, I know of no instance of this. The statement nevertheless bears out what was said by the Prince Consort Tungi concerning the modern monarchy, that if heir after heir to the throne died a new heir would continue to be sought in lower and lower ranks, blood relationship being of course the guiding factor, until ultimately the choice might come to a commoner. This illustrates that rank in Tonga is relative, not absolute.

Apparently the ministers of the Tui Tonga, who were called the Falefa, at times had a hand in the selection of the new Tui Tonga. According to a reliable Vavau informant the four Falefa went to the island of Ofolanga, to bring back the prince Fakanaanaa and to elevate him to the kingship. With the death of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga in 1865, the Falefa took to the Tui Kanokupolu George I Tupou, at his residence, a kava root and a kava bowl, and made kava ceremonially for him as the new Tui Tonga. This simple ceremony, called *fulitaunga*, consisted of mixing the kava for him with the bowl turned so that the cord for suspending it was on the side towards him. (This cord hangs from a perforated projection on one side of the circular kava bowl, the word *fulitaunga* referring to this feature.) In making kava for the Tui Tonga or Tamaha, the bowl was always put in this position, while for the Tui Kanokupolu or chiefs of lower rank it was not. Hence the cord on the side of the bowl facing George I constituted official notice of his forthcoming elevation to the kingship. This action of the Falefa was later ratified at an assembly of the chiefs of the kingdom at Vavau.

According to the aged informant Tamale, chief of Niutoua, Tongatabu, one fertile cause for the murder of the Tui Tonga was the ambition of scheming great chiefs who desired the high office for themselves or relatives. Certain of the Falefa would be induced to assassinate him. The fact that they were foreigners or descendants of foreigners, rendered them safe from the curse which would fall upon a native Tongan for such a deed. If the above information is correct it seems likely that the father-son succession to the throne was interrupted more frequently than tradition indicates. The part played by the Falefa in the succession to the throne was evidently of a sinister nature at times. In the elevation of Fakanaanaa and George I Tupou to the high office of Tui Tonga, the Falefa functioned in a more beneficent light.

Cook and other writers speak of Fatafehi as the family name of the Tui Tonga, but I see no similarity to our family names. The genealogies reveal a very considerable number of the Tui Tonga's children who never

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Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 326) presented a pewter plate to Poulaho [Tui Tonga Pau] in 1777, which he said he would substitute for the bowl which had before sustained the offices of chief justice and viceroy, and which was used to absolve persons from tapu when the Tui Tonga was absent.

Concerning the chief (presumably Tui Tonga Kauulufonua III) whom Tasman met in 1643, Wilson says (66, p. xlvii):

> An elderly chief, who seems at that time to have had the sovereign authority, came repeatedly on board, shewed the most profound respect to his visitors, and was highly gratified by the presents which they made to him. Among these was a wooden bowl, probably the same that long afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo as a divining-cup, to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which is rendered to the sovereign when present, was paid during his absence to the bowl, as his representative.

RANK AND LANGUAGE

The Tongans make use of different words and expressions when addressing or referring to persons of different social standing. By listening to a conversation it is possible to tell whether those conversing are of equal or unequal rank. One set of words was used in addressing or speaking of the Tamaha, the Female and the Male Tui Tonga, another for the Tui Haa Takalaua, the Tui Kanokupolu, and the chiefs, and still another for the people. In speaking or referring to matapules, terms for the people are used by their superiors and terms for chiefs by their inferiors. It is said that individuals of the same rank use terms for the people when conversing among themselves, but there are exceptions. For example, the Tamaha calls her mother *huhu*, not *fae* (the ordinary term for mother). Furthermore the use of the Tui Tonga term *lakoifie* for Tui Pelehake (who, like the first Tui Tonga, was of celestial origin) suggests that other Tui Tonga terms may have been similarly used.

The relation of rank and language is well expressed by Elia Malupo, one of the Tui Tonga's ceremonial attendants, in a statement written November 27, 1905.

> Oku tolu ae faahinga: koe faahinga muomua, ae Tamaha, moe Tui Tonga; moe faahinga e taha, ae Tui Haa Takalaua, moe Tui Kanokupolu; pea moe faahinga e taha, ae kakai. Koia ia, oku tolu ae lea: 1, Kakai; 2, Tui Haa Takalaua; 3, Tui Tonga. Koeni: Kapau teu fetaulaki mo ha taha, oe faahinga oe kakai, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo alu ki fe?".
>
> Pea kapau ko ha taha oe faahinga lotoloto, oe Houeiki, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo mea ki fe?" Pea kapau ko ha taha oe faahinga muomua, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo haele ki fe?"
>
> There are three ranks: the leading rank, the Tamaha, and the Tui Tonga; and another rank, the Tui Haa Takalaua, and the Tui Kanokupolu; and another rank, the people. There are three sets of words: 1, the people; 2, the Tui Haa Takalaua; 3, the Tui Tonga. Thus: If I should meet with anyone of the people rank, I would say: "Ko hoo alu ki fe?" (Where are you going?) And should it be one of the middle rank of chiefs, I would say to him: "Ko hoo mea ki fe?" (Where are you going?) [The old greeting for matapule and commoner is said to be *siotoofa* or *siokuofa*, presumably the equivalent of the modern *malolelei*.]

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Fakamuifonua. A method of making kava; a very formal procedure employed only in the making of kava for the Tui Tonga, the Tui Kanokupolu, or an important chief. 276 574 192

Fakataane. The sitting position of the Tongan men, knees widely extended, flat on ground, feet folded beneath legs, body inclined forward, elbows across upper legs, hands near lap, left hand taking care of lower garment (*vala*), keeping it pulled up from behind and between legs when necessary, as when assuming the position and rising. This was the ceremonial sitting position. At a *fono* or kava circle a commoner could be killed for shifting to the slightest degree from this position. At times of entertaining it was extremely discourteous for a man to sit in any other position, unless he were infirm, or had some other physical excuse. It was tapu for a woman to sit in this fashion. [516] [689] [576] [562]

Fakatakape. To clean the bowl rim with *fau* fiber, as soon as the *fau* is thrown into the bowl. The *fau* is passed twice around the rim, wrung out, and thrown back and away from the mixer, as in the later part of the process.

Fakataue. To mix very strong kava in a new bowl and bathe the edge of the bowl repeatedly with the strainer, to give the bowl's interior the kava stain—a yellowish deposit which adheres to the bowl.

Fakatomo. The central tap root or body of a large kava root, not chopped into small pieces, but left intact. For a great chief's kava.

Fatuauho. Thick kava made from the small roots of the plant.

Fau. Fiber of the inner bark of the hau (*Hibiscus sp.*). A bunch of this fiber serves as a strainer.

Fono. The food or relish distributed at a great drinking of kava. The kava and the particular *fono* that accompanies it are distributed simultaneously, but the food is nowadays not eaten, but collected again. Formerly it was eaten. Sometimes ten or more *fono* are served, according to the number of mixings of kava. Should the same kava be used for a second infusion, an accompanying *fono* is not required. The *fono* is divided into three lots by one of the two matapules who sit beside the presiding chief. The first lot is for the chief; the second and third lots, divided by the matapule, are for their respective sides of the ring. [264] [624] [622]

Kava. The plant (*Piper methysticum*); the drink made therefrom; a piece of the root from which the drink is to be made.

Luluki. The root of the kava plant.

Malumeimua. The order by the matapule who is master of ceremonies to the attendant who carves pork, instructing him to cut the back of the roast into two equal portions. [624]

Pelu. A drinking cup folded from the banana leaf, having two puckered corners tied with banana stem fiber. The drinker holds the cup by the two corners or ears. Used for the drinking of kava on certain ceremonial occasions. Used at the Queen's kava circle at her coronation. For most modern kava parties a half coconut shell serves as a cup. [415] [415]

Toua. The place behind the bowl in which sit the relatives of the chiefs who are in the kava circle.

Uhunoa. Refers to matapule not visiting a chief's house with a piece of kava, but going instead to other peoples' houses without kava.

DIFFERENCES OF PROCEDURE

The late rise of the Tui Kanokupolu makes the titles connected with the kava ceremony for this office less ancient than many of those connected with the ceremony of the traditionally older office of Tui Tonga. The Tui 276 574 643

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that is, the precedence of a chief in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle might differ from his precedence in the kava circle of another chief.

In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the wooden kava bowl (*kumete*) is designated as *tanoa*. On one side of the outer surface of the bowl is a little raised block (*taunga*), usually triangular, perforated and threaded with a piece of cord by which the bowl may be suspended when not in use. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the bowl was so placed that the *taunga* was towards the president, a position called *fulitaunga*. In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the *taunga* is towards the kava mixer, a position called *olovahaa*, because the space (*vahaa*) between two legs of the kava bowl is towards the president.

In splitting a large root of kava with axe or crowbar, in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle, the roots are placed towards the president, the branches away. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the position was reversed. In counting baskets of food the Tui Tonga (Kauhalauta) people touched the first and merely pointed to the rest (14, p. 210). "The first one is the Tui Tonga's and he alone is chief."

Food, as a relish (*fono*), is placed before the individuals in the kava circle. While of old, it apparently was eaten by the people to whom presented, at the present time it is removed and eaten by the *fahu* (sororal nephews or grandchildren).

When the Tui Kanokupolu arrives by sea in another country or in a distant province, his navigator, in the place of the regular matapule, must direct the activities of the kava circle. He serves in this capacity for three mornings, in addition to the kava drinking when arriving. After that Motuapuaka, or one of his family, resumes his duties in the kava ring.

The following account by William Tungi, a grandfather of the present Prince Consort, relates the directions for the Tui Tonga's kava circle, said to have been formulated by Loau, the Tui Haamea, during the reign of the Tui Tonga, Takalaua, or immediately thereafter.

> These are Loau's directions: When the chiefs are assembled in the kava ring in the green of the Kauhalauta called Faoamanafa, on the left side [of the Tui Tonga] will be the Tui Faleua; on the right side [of the Tui Tonga] will be Tokemoana; Tafolo will sit at the turning in [*fasialofi*] of the right side of the circle; Lomulahi will sit at the turning in of the left side of the circle; and the Tui Haa Teiho sits at the end [near the kava bowl].
>
> It is forbidden to strike the wrong-doer at the kava drinking. There is a saying, "A sinner at the place of refuge." And it is forbidden to deprive the chiefs of the food portioned to them as relish (the carrying away of the relish), and it is loaded into carrying baskets. The relish food of the matapule may be taken away; and the younger brother may drink the kava.

The following account of the kava circle of the Tamaha is translated from a manuscript by Elia Malupo, matapule of the Tui Tonga:

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After spinning the coconut, Kautae cracked it and then sprinkled everyone with coconut water. This was to make the sickness leave Taufaahau. After the god had restored the boy to health, Kautae changed his name from Nginginiofolanga to Taufaahau.

Any chief sick a long while might be brought before Kautae, with such presents as roast pig and kava. The visitors sat very quietly while the god entered Kautae. The coming of the god was shown by Kautae's looking "like a fool." When the god entered Kautae he was seated. [The informant, the Kautae of 1921, had seen his father thus possessed.] Afterwards Kautae spun the coconut to determine if the person would live. Then kava was made for the god. The kava was drunk by the people, but sea water brought in a coconut vessel was given to the god through his representative Kautae. The kava was served in banana leaf cups, as was the salt water. These, together with the bowl and strainer were brought by Fakaotoota, the priest's attendant who was regularly appointed by Kautae. These were used anciently in place of coconut shells. Salt water did not make Kautae sick. The god was still in Kautae when he drank salt water. Kautae shook all over when the god was in him. The movement of the body was an up-and-down trembling, arms flexed and shaking, head bowed slightly, eyes staring.

The succession to the priestly office of Kautae seems to have been as follows: (5) the incumbent of 1921; (4) the incumbent's father; (3) the incumbent's father's father's brother's son; (2) the incumbent's father's father's brother; (1) the incumbent's father's father.

The present Kautae said that, when a new priest was appointed at the death of the old one, the god enters the new priest, even though the new priest was only an appointee of the chief or of the king. The present Kautae, who is a Christian, has never felt as though the god were going to enter him. His son, who will probably succeed to the title, is called Halafaiafenga.

There are two tales about an alleged tomb of the god Taufaitahi which lies beneath the sea. One version places this tomb between Vavau and Niuatoputapu. It is said that in looking through the waters from a boat one can see the white tomb (*faitoka*) and usually near it Taufaitahi himself in the form of a white shark. The other tale attributes the tomb to the bay of Mua in the lagoon of Tongatabu, and between the island of Moungatapu and the place called Nahafu. It cannot be seen from the surface of the water on account of the mud, but by diving the alleged grave can be seen, a stone surrounded by white sand; it is called Muliafanini. The god himself is said to have dubbed this submarine spot his grave.

A tale refers to the seizing of a man named Fatuimoana by the shark god Taufaitahi:

A number of people were going to the island of Motutapu, Tongatabu, one day to attend games of playing in the surf (*fanifo*). The shark seized Fatuimoana by the arm when he dived and dragged him beneath the water. The people could look down and see the victim being held by the great shark. The priest of the god was sent for and came in the boat. He dived down and brought the drowned Fatuimoana to the surface. The body of the victim was taken to the Hahake district in Tongatabu and the inferior relatives of Fatuimoana had their little fingers cut off and brought as offerings to Kautae who was begged to restore Fatuimoana to life, but all in vain.

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669 which he meant to reside during his stay: the Vavaoo people were forbidden to carry any offensive weapons, whilst those of Hapai were ordered to be under arms, and to keep themselves on the alert.

634 [641] Two or three days after this funeral ceremony, the king summoned a private meeting in his presence of the chiefs of Hapai, and those of Vavaoo, when the latter swore allegiance to [782] Finow with their hands placed upon a consecrated bowl *, whilst cava was being mixed in [276] it, invoking the god, Tooi fooa Bolotoo, to [415] whom the bowl was consecrated, and praying him to punish them with untimely death if they should afterwards break their vow, or harbour any thoughts to that intent. The cava was then shared out, and the king informed the Vavaoo chiefs, that thenceforth they were to consider Toe Oomoo, (his aunt), as their lawful chief, and to pay respect to her as such, at her cava ceremonies: they accordingly promised all due submission and obedience to their newly appointed chief; after which the

[778] [565] * The bowl is held consecrated because it is kept on purpose to make cava in, for the ceremonies of that god only (Tooi fooa Bolotoo), being used on no other occasion. If a great chief takes an oath, he swears by the god, (laying his hand upon the consecrated bowl); if an inferior chief takes an oath, he swears by his superior relation, who, of course, is a greater chief, and lays his hand upon his feet.

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276 mastication. In about two minutes, each person having chewed his quantity, takes it out of his mouth with his hand, and puts it on a piece of plantain or banana leaf, or sometimes he raises the leaf to his mouth, and puts it off his tongue in the form of a ball, of tolerable consistence, (particularly if it be dry cava root). The different portions of cava being now all chewed, which is known by the silence that ensues, nobody calling for any, some one takes the wooden bowl* from the exterior circle, and places it on the ground before the man who is to make the infusion. In the mean while, each person who sits at any distance from the inferior circle, passes on his portion of chewed root, so that it is conveyed from one to another till it is received by three or four persons, who are actively engaged in the front of the inferior circle, going from one side to the other collecting it, and depositing it in the wooden bowl: it is not, however, thrown in promiscuously, but in such a way, that each portion is distinct and separate from the rest, till at length the whole inside of the vessel becomes thickly studded, beginning at the bottom and going up on every side towards the rim: this is done that a judgment may afterwards be formed of the

[415] * The bowl used at a large party is about three feet in diameter, and about one foot in depth in the centre.

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quantity of beverage that it will make: as each portion is disengaged from its leaf, the leaf is thrown any where on the ground. 276

The cava being thus deposited in the bowl, those persons who had been busy collecting it retire to their places and sit down: the man before whom the bowl is placed, now tilts it up a little towards the chief that he may see the quantity of its contents, saying, *coe cava heni gooa ma*, this is the cava chewed: if the chief (having consulted the mataboole), thinks there is not enough, he says, *oofi-oofi, bea how he tangáta*, cover it over, and let there come a man here; the bowl is then covered over with a plantain or banana leaf, and a man goes to the same presiding mataboole to receive more cava root, to be chewed as before; but if it be thought there is a sufficiency, he says, *paloo*, mix. The two men, who sit one on each side of him who is to prepare the cava, now come forward a little, and making a half turn, sit opposite to each other, the bowl being between them: one of these fans off the flies with a large leaf, while the other sits ready to pour in the water from cocoa nut shells*, one at a time.

* These shells are whole, having merely two small holes at the top: the large ones are always chosen for this purpose: the nuts destined for this use are filled with salt water, and buried in the sand until the inside becomes decayed or [415]

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276 Before this is done, however, the man who is about to mix, having first rinsed his hands with a little of the water, kneads together (the mataboole having said *paloo*) the chewed root, gathering it up from all sides of the bowl and compressing it together; upon this, the mataboole says, *lingi he vy*, pour in the water, and the man on one side of the bowl continues pouring, fresh shells being handed to him, until the mataboole thinks there is sufficient, which he announces by saying, *mow he vy*, stop the water: he now discontinues pouring, and takes up a leaf to assist the other in fanning. The mataboole now says, *paloo ger tattow, bea fucca mow*, mix it every where equally, and make it firm, i. e. bring the dregs together in a body.

Things being thus far prepared, the mataboole says, *y he fow*, put in the fow*: a large quantity of this fibrous substance, sufficient to cover the whole surface of the infusion, is now put in by one of those who sit by the side of the bowl, and it floats upon the surface. The man who manages the bowl now begins his dif-

[415] rather deliquescent, when it is poured out, and the inside well washed.

* The *fow* is the bark of a tree stripped into small fibres, and has very much the appearance of the willow shavings that are used in England to decorate fire-places in summer time.

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through the whole liquid as not to be thus separated *.

During the above operation, various people in the exterior circle are employed making cava cups of the unexpanded leaf of the banana tree, which is cut into lengths of about nine inches, each piece being then unfolded is nearly square; the two ends are next plaited up in a particular manner, and tied with a fibre of the stem of the leaf, forming a very elegant cup, not unworthy of imitation. These leaves are provided beforehand, as well as the water, the bowl, &c. by the cooks. Sometimes it happens that there is not

* No man undertakes to perform this operation at a large party but who has been well practised on smaller occasions: for it is considered a great accomplishment, even worthy of a chief: but a failure on such an occasion would look very bad: Mr. Mariner, however, never witnessed one. The cava dregs which have been thus put aside are afterwards taken away by the cooks, and chewed over again to make fresh infusion for themselves. The disgusted reader will here perhaps call to mind the assertion we have formerly made, that no nation can excel the Tonga people in personal cleanliness, and will regret that they are not equally clean in their food. If this objection were made to a native, he would say, "it is "not indeed very cleanly, for we would not eat a piece of "yam which another had bitten; but chewing the cava is an "ancient practice, and we think nothing of it: but what," he will perhaps add, "can be more filthy and disgusting "than the Papalangi practice of drinking the milk of a beast, "and giving it to your children for food?"—Every country has its customs.

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mony of *mŏë-mŏë*, before he will dare feed himself with his own hands. This ceremony consists in touching the soles of any superior chief's feet with the hands, first applying the palm, then the back of each hand; after which the hands must be rinsed in a little water, or, if there be no water near, they may be rubbed with any part of the stem of the plantain or banana tree, the moisture of which will do instead of washing. He may then feed himself without danger of any disease, which would otherwise happen, as they think, from eating with tabooed hands: but if any one think he may have already (unknowingly) eaten with tabooed hands, he then sits down before a chief, and taking the foot of the latter, presses the sole of it against his own abdomen, that the food which is within him may do him no injury, and that consequently he may not swell up and die: this operation is called *fota*, (i. e. to press.) It is tabooed also to eat when a superior relation is present, unless the back is turned towards him: for when a person's back is turned towards another, that other may be said, in one sense, not to be in his presence: also to eat food which a superior relation or chief has touched; and if either of these *taboos* is accidentally infringed upon, the ceremony of *fota* must be performed. If any one is tabooed by touching the person

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or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook. Véachi usually adopted a similar plan. Cava, either the root or the infusion, cannot be tabooed by the touch of any chief of what rank soever; so that a common *tooa* may chew cava which even Tooitonga has touched.

Toogoo Ca'va. This ceremony consists in merely leaving a small piece of cava root before a consecrated house or grave, out of respect to a god, or to the departed spirit of a chief or relation, at the same time the ceremony of *toogi* or beating the cheeks is performed, as related (Vol. I. p. 89.) The *toogi*, which is performed at burials, is of a more serious nature.

Lotoo is the term used for praying; but it is more commonly applied to prayers offered up in the fields to all the gods, but particularly to Alo Alo, petitioning for a good harvest. It will be also recollected, that prayers are offered up before consecrated houses and graves.

As omens, to which they give a considerable

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have been transplanted, in order to give them a finer and softer texture. 285 [291]

Gie, stronger mats made of the bark of the *fow* or *olongá*, worn chiefly by people in canoes to keep out the wet, as the water does not damage them: they appear as if they were made of horse-hair. Labillardiere mentions that he saw a woman of rank with a sort of mat made of the white hair of a horse's tail. He supposed that it must have been procured from some horses that Cook had left there. 285 237 [292] [177]

Fálla, mats to sleep on, made of the leaves of the *paoongo*. These are double, and are of various sizes, from six feet by three, to seventy or eighty feet by six; to lie along the whole length of the house. 285 513

La, mats for sails, made of the leaves of the *fa*; they are very strong and light. 285 [501]

Tacapow, mats for flooring houses, made of the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree. [352]

Tattow, a sort of matting, plaited in a very ornamental way, made of young cocoa-nut leaves: they are used to screen the sides of houses from the weather. [353]

Cato, baskets: these are of various constructions; sometimes of a sort of matting made with the leaves of the *fa*, *pcoongo*, *lo acow*, &c.; at other times of the fibrous root of the cocoa-nut tree interwoven with plait made of the husk [415] [531]

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285 of the nut, and have rather the appearance of
415 wicker-work: the latter are sometimes variously
[531] stained and ornamented with beads or shells
[462] worked in. The larger and coarser baskets are generally made by men, to hold axes and other tools in: also the baskets used to hold victuals, made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, are generally made by men.

285 *Bawlá*, mats for thatching houses, are either
[338] made by men or women, but more frequently by the former.

462 Most of these mats, baskets, &c. are made
565 by women of some rank as an amusing as well
[285] as profitable occupation, exchanging them af-
[436] terwards for other things: (See p. 95 of this volume). Making of combs, the teeth of which
[303] consist of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut leaf, is also an employment of women of rank. Making
283 thread is an occupation of females of the lower
[462] order: it is performed by twisting the separate
[565] parts of the thread, in the act of rolling them with the palm of the hand along the thigh, and by a return of the hand, twisting them together the contrary way. The material of the thread is the prepared bark of the *olongá*.
413 Needles are generally made by carpenters out
241 of human thigh bones, which are procured from
727 their enemies slain in battle: the only use they
396 have for them is to make sails.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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who refuses to work and get that which will meet the legitimate demands of the teeth. 539 461

101. Teu ke hihi kae ola: About to cut out but gnawing. 539

This refers primarily to the coconut. A nut has been split open in order to cut the flesh out with a knife when someone greedily seizes it and chews the flesh out with his teeth, a thing befitting an animal or bad-mannered man. May be applied to a thing which is about to be carried out in a proper, decent way, but is actually done in an unseemly manner. 264 576

PRESENTING, BEGGING, KEEPING FOOD

102. Kai pe lea: Just eating speech. 539

Used of a man for whom there is no portion when the food presented to a chief is divided and distributed, but to whom the chief speaks. The individual thus honored by the chief will feel that he has after all some part in the ceremony although he has not received a present of food. 264 554

103. Koe ma ka te mate: Ashamed, but I'll die. 539

Used in the first place of begging food. What is the use of being ashamed to ask for food, seeing that if you do not get it you will die, or be very hungry. (It is very common in Tongan to say that one is *mate*, dead, of hunger, thirst, of desire for some thing, without indicating any extreme stress.) This expression is applied generally to making requests of any kind. 431 735

104. Motu ka nae navei: Broken but it was bound. 539

Navei are small cords passed through the top of a basket, especially of food, and fastened round the pole on which it is slung. These cords are not the main lashing, which is a long cord or vine passing several times round the basket and pole. The idea is that although the large lashing has been adjusted yet it is well to avoid risks by adding these auxiliary bindings. The expression has this sense of making assurance doubly sure. Sometimes the phrase is rendered, *Motu ka nae kavei*, which has the same meaning as the above except that the *kavei* is the main lashing. This, which seems to be more familiar to the younger generation of Tongans, may be applied to a mishap which has not been the effect of negligence. There has been an accident but those whose business it was to look after the matter in question evidently did their work carefully and thoroughly. 415 482 [829]

105. Puia a kaiaji: Sending a forager. 539

When one is sent to procure food for a party he will be the first to eat of what he has obtained. So used of one who is the first to reap the advantage of something that he has been sent to do, or to get. 156 571

106. Ua ma kae mae ma: Eat *ma* but be careful of *ma*. 539

Ma is the food made from fermented fruit. This expression indicates literally one who has a supply of *ma* of his own, but is very sparing 262 183 571

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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440. Pele tonoi: An adulterous favorite; one who returns the kindness of another by debauching his wife. 539 837 571

441. He oku fola fala kae alea e kainga: For the mats are spread and kin are talking. 539 593

The mats are the sleeping mats, and the picture is that of intimate domestic converse between those who may freely declare their minds without fearing the anger of their auditors, who, being their own kin, will stand even unfavorable criticism. Far different is this intercourse from the circumspection which must be observed in addressing the great of the land without the family circle. 602 [576]

442. Talatala i fale: Speaking in the house, that is, in the privacy of the home, and among close kin, as for example the admonition of a father to his son. 539 521 593 602

443. Tala loto fale: Telling inside house.

This saying does not seem to be known, at least not very generally known, nowadays. Baker renders it: "To speak evil; to speak, to incite to evil." Evidently the idea is of taking the opportunity of private intercourse to utter things which one would not like to say before many auditors. 539 521

444. Apijia tae lava: Ceremony that does not come off.

Applied, for example, to a man who writes to a girl, or otherwise tries to win her for his wife, but is unsuccessful in his suit. The word *apijia*, which is probably connected with *api*, home, indicates that which one does for himself, for his own home. 539 584

445. Apitanga a lalahi: Camp of grown up people.

Used of a place where grown people only are living together without any of the trouble and care incident to the presence of children. A boat's crew is sometimes thus spoken of. 539 571

446. Fangu malingi i fale lahi: Calabash poured out in big house. 539

The calabash is the receptacle in which the sweet scented oil for anointing the body was kept, and the name has come to be applied to the oil itself. Whether in this phrase we translate *fangu* by calabash or by oil the meaning is the same. The *fale lahi*, big house, is the house in which the young men used to live together. The phrase indicates the holding of something in common. If one man took out his bottle of oil to anoint himself another and then another might use it after him until perhaps the oil was finished. No offence, however, would be taken at this, as the owner would not assert his private rights against his fellow-lodgers in the big house. 415 302 575 571

447. Kaumea kaumea faingamea: Friends, friends quarreling. 539

The reduplication of the word *kaumea* (friends) indicates a long continued comradeship; but it is at last broken by strife. 572

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 164 554 565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad. 812

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala kehe: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 764 751 [584]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 505.) 763 [485] [415] [482]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him. 761

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 826 821

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

221 805 136 931 244

growth when their heads are yellow under the scales. Ashore this is a time of scarcity, whence the proverb, *Ku ai ha ofa tatali ki Uluenga.* If there is any kindness (gift) wait till Uluenga, when presents of food will be most useful. When yams are dug a small piece of the root is sometimes thrown back into the hole. These pieces grow into yams, which though small are deep in the ground on account of the manner of their planting. During the time of scarcity people search for these little yams, and in bending down to throw the soil out of the deep holes they are likely to make themselves yellow-headed.

221 805 244 **12. Tanu-manga:** Throwing soil on branch, fork. November-December. A growing yam is likely to project slightly above the ground, and frequently a small yam grows down from the same stem thus making a branch or fork on the head of the root. In this month if the head of a yam appears forked (*manga*), the gardener banks it over with soil (*tanu*).

With Tanumanga the year normally ends. If, however, observation of the yam and other plants and of fishes at the next new moon fails to discover the appearances proper to the month with which the year begins, Lihamua, another month is intercalated.

221 805 415 **13. Ooa-ki-fangongo:** Using a coconut-shell as basket. *Ooa* is said to be a reduplicated form of *oa*, one sort of basket; *fangongo* is an empty coconut-shell cut open and used as a receptacle for small things. This is a time of scarcity, and the idea is that one needs but a small receptacle in which to place his food.

NIGHTS OF THE MONTH

805 With the Tongans, as with other Polynesians, it is habitual to count by nights rather than by days. Where the English speaker says "five days after" the Tongan says "five nights after." An intelligent Tongan suggests as a reason that his people treat the hours of daylight and of the succeeding darkness as one day and that in reckoning the closing portion of the day is considered.

The division of the month was based on the phases of the moon, and the days or nights were counted within the month, several of the nights having special names. Expressed perhaps in a better way, there were special names for the moon in several of 805 her phases. The fisherman has strong reasons for close observance 226 of the moon, as some days are *aho ika*, fish days, favorable for the catching of certain sorts of fish. These fish days evidently vary with different localities and for different species of fish.

805 821 It is asserted that the appearance of the moon in a looking-

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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which he has read about. That such professional ambitions for his child may be realized Biukala has decided that he must become as much like a white man as possible: particularly in the sense of being able to read and write easily, more particularly in his possession of what to him are large amounts of ready cash. But in this respect Biukala is a deviant in village-life. He does not represent in any sense the ideals or achievements of village-culture. He is rather an example of the way in which there is within the village, minor inequality in the use that is made of some of the traits that have been taken from white culture into village-culture as the result of culture-contact.

Preparation of Foods

The preparation of food does not show great variety. The staple vegetables are cooked by grilling on hot ashes, by baking in the earth-oven, by mixing with coconut-cream and then oven-baking, and finally by boiling (either with water or coconut-cream) in an empty five-gallon kerosene can. Oven-cooking is the most troublesome method. It demands a large supply of firewood and a long wait before the food is cooked. It is always used for feast foods but for everyday eating there is a tendency for boiling to supplant the use of the oven. Food may be baked by the average household once or twice a week. For the rest, the diet is boiled food. Kerosene cans are at a premium in the village. They have, after all, many uses ranging from a food container to a baby bath. Each household likes to have more than one as part of the household furniture.

Fruits are eaten raw, crushed or squeezed and then mixed with coconut-cream, baked with coconut-cream, sometimes boiled. Apart from coconuts and papaia, however, fruit figures little in the diet of the adult. Children ranging the bush are more likely to eat substantial amounts of wild fruits. Bananas are mostly boiled while green and unripe. Ripe bananas are saved for feasts.

Pork, chicken, and meat are cooked by oven baking. Canned meats and fish are eaten as they come from the can. Fresh fish is baked, grilled, or boiled.

Green leafy vegetables are seldom eaten. Sometimes *taro* leaves are oven-baked between layers of pork fat or

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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swimming-beaches lie within easy walking-distance. Yet young boys rarely learn to swim before the age of six or seven, and girls often much later. Younger children are often severely whipped for venturing to stroll unattended toward the nearest village beach. Yet the beach itself provides safe swimming at all tides. Elsewhere in Polynesia, by contrast, children of three are already fair swimmers and none, parents or children, seem to have that fear of the water which is characteristic of the Pangai villager.

This decay in the art of fishing can be paralleled in other aspects of village economic life. In bark-cloth-making for example, there is apparent a sort of technique atrophy which may be the prelude to slow death. Mariner describes a technique for making bark cloth at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the prepared cloth was baked in an earth oven and then spread out all night to be dampened by the dew before it was sun-dried on the next morning and packed away in bales. None of the villagers had heard of the use of this oven-baking or dew-dampening process even though Mariner says that it increases the durability and strength of the bark cloth. The lack of just these two qualities in their bark cloth worries the Tongans today, when they compare bark cloth with cotton piece-goods. They have evidently forgotten, therefore, two skills that might be used to improve the quality of the bark cloth for which they still have major use.

A somewhat similar atrophy is noticeable in the arts of cooking. Here the introduction of the kerosene-tin or the iron cooking-pot has meant the ever-increasing use of the simple technique of boiling and a progressive lack of interest in oven-baking. By comparison with oven-food, even the villager admits that boiled food is tastelessly sodden and lacks variety of flavour. We read out to Biukala some of the recipes that Mariner gave for preparing Tongan foods. Most of the recipes he had heard of by name, many he could cook himself. But he had to admit that few of the villagers had either the knowledge or the patience to prepare Tongan food according to these older methods. Whatever variety there is introduced into the food eaten today often comes from the addition of large amounts of cane sugar to mixtures of flour and water, or else from the use of tinned beef and

276 A special case is provided by a young man courting.
594 The young man Avai, for instance, goes to Fakataha's house.
596 If the household is awake he walks inside. If all are asleep,
584 he wakens the group before entering and asking for the girl Ana to make *kava* for him. Other young men drift into the house as soon as a light begins to shine. Avai pounds the *kava* he has brought while Ana makes the drink. Fakataha the mother, acts as chaperon. It is not polite for her to tell the young men to leave. The whole household, therefore, must remain awake and active until the men decide to leave. They may stay as late as they wish, and if they have nothing better to do, they stay until the early hours of the morning. Children crawl into corners and go to sleep. Older people in the household sleep sitting up in the *kava*-circle. In the end, only Ana the maker, her vigilant mother, and the young men may be awake.

276 The large wooden *kava*-bowl is a prized household
415 possession. Most of those in the village have come from Fiji. Some are so worn and old that all the legs have been
412 broken. As long as the bowl itself has not split, it is kept in use, propped up if necessary by elaborate piles of stones and pieces of wood. The stones between which the root is pounded (formerly it was chewed) are also special stones, kept for this use only. They are not shaped or modelled in any way. Two hard flat stones are all that is necessary, the base-stone as large and as flat as possible, the pounding-stone of any convenient shape that it may be gripped easily. A
[426] household not possessing either bowl or pounders borrows them from a friendly household should it desire to make *kava*. They are returned promptly after use because none wants to have responsibility for an accidental breakage.

276 *Kava*-making in the village follows general Polynesian pattern.[27] The roots are crushed by a young man sitting beside the *kava*-maker. They are then placed in the bowl, water is added (generally from a nearby kerosene-tin), the crushed material saturated and squeezed and then removed from the bowl by the use of a strainer of coconut-fibre. One young man sits on either side of the maker. The boy to the

[27] Specific procedures used in the making of *kava* for special purposes such as at times of marriage and death, are noted in other appropriate sections of this report.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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At the present stage of technical development in the social sciences, an index of acculturation is still to be dreamed about, not worked with. A brief survey of the present culture of Pangai village might well suggest that some such cultural elements as the following would come within the scope of such an index. First of all, it is easy to see that there has been more cultural transference in the field of material culture than is obvious in social organization. Even with material culture, however, many distinctions have to be drawn before it is all clear what has been transferred from the alien culture. Thus many non-aboriginal foods are cultivated today—corn, melons, tomatoes, and the like. But compared with the use of aboriginal staple vegetables, such imported foods play a non-significant role in day to day eating and have gained little significance as prestige foods for feast-purposes. In the preparation of foods, the process of cooking by boiling has been developed with the importation of kerosene-tins. Boiled food is quicker to prepare than oven-baked food. Hence there is a tendency to eat boiled food much of the time, using the native oven whenever something a little out of the ordinary is desired. In the technique of eating, there is wide use of a few simple plates, dishes, and cups, but transferring food from container to mouth is still done with the fingers. In the use of foods, therefore, the present culture illustrates a blend of new and old. How much of each is involved is difficult to characterize with any simplicity of statement.

The position is similar with regard to clothing. There is today an extensive use of clothing materials derived from European culture. The village women all wear dresses. All the men at one time or another wear cotton shirts, but for most purposes and occasions as a lower garment they have borrowed the use of cotton materials which they use as a skirt *(vala)*, thus following aboriginal practice in the style of the garment. For ceremonial or out-of-the-ordinary occasions both sexes wear either in place of, or on top of the ordinary lower garment, a fine mat skirt together with a belt of plaited coconut sennit *(ta'ovala)*. In dressing up for special church occasions, deacons or lay-preachers almost invariably try to wear the white man's suit, shirt, sox, and shoes, though none of the village men would wear any of

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

a visit to a shrine commenced, the ceremony was a presentation to the god, and the priest, as his representative and vehicle, had the precedence. *Kava* is commonly drunk out of coconut-shell cups, but visitors to the gods were wont, apparently, to use cups of folded banana leaf. These are obviously more ceremonious than the coconut-shells, as they were used in 1918 at the important native ceremony in connection with the installation of the present Queen. I obtained possession of several of the cups used on that occasion, but unfortunately banana leaves are not very durable, and they have long been reduced to pieces of dried leaf, amongst which destructive insects have begun their work.

In passing it may be remarked in connection with *kava* that personal experience in Tonga has shown me nothing to justify the epithet "intoxicating" so often applied to this root. *Kava* drinking prolonged far into the night produces a very dull Tongan next morning, but bad hours would be enough in itself to account for at least a good deal of the drowsiness, and if there be a residuum directly caused by the absorption of large quantities of *kava*, as is quite probable, it does not seem rightly stigmatised as intoxication. Excessive tobacco smoking would produce much the same effect, as indeed would excess of almost any kind. Seeing how widely the *kava* is termed intoxicating by competent observers in other groups, I can only suppose that the suggestion which I have heard put forward, that the Tongans drink the root in a more advanced stage of maturity than the peoples of some other islands may be correct, and that the green root has more pronounced effects.

The priest, then, duly primed with the cheerful cup, and with the tangible evidence before him that the god's hunger will be satisfactorily appeased, proceeds to work himself into a condition suitable for the reception of deity. There are living to-day representatives of an old priestly family, of a highly strung nervous disposition, exhibiting in all probability characteristics that caused their forebears to be reverenced as channels of divine communication. A present-day member of the family has distinguished himself by intrepid and successfuf missionary pioneering in the Solomon Islands.

The worshippers usually resort to the gods for information concerning risky undertakings, such as war, and for deliverance, or protection, from the disasters that commonly afflict our life, such as sickness or bad seasons, caused by drought or hurricane. There seems to have been no special god of war, but for guidance in this important undertaking each tribe referred to its own god, the indications of the god's pleasure being given in some instances at least by movements of the clubs or other war weapons with which the shrine was provided. If the weapon from which the auguries were sought refused to budge that was an indication of the god's desire for peace.

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of European dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that each one may wash his hands.

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and the better grades. This is clearly but a transferal of their old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still freely anoint themselves.

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi (foreign kava). They are permitted only to the land-holding chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners must go without.

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted long since by metal implements. Contact with Euro-American culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it is pounded.

The former narrow roads that traversed the various Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits cross-legged on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance. They are the more numerous in the former island where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving. The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar for years with gasoline launches.

Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga.

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction. Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails.

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

slightly pink farinaceous flesh. The best sorts surpass the finest pear in excellency of flavour. These are eaten raw, or they may be baked, or stewed, according to fancy. The Chinese dwarf banana, (*Musa coccinea*, or *M. Chinensis*,) was introduced only a few years since, and has already been widely spread through the islands. The fruit is of a very delicate flavour, and the stem of this species not being more than four feet high, it is much better able to endure the periodical gales that level to the ground all the taller sorts. It has, consequently, become a great favourite with the people, and will, probably, supplant many of the others entirely.

No use has yet been made, by the Tonguese, of the stem of this tree, in the manufacture of cordage, as is the practice in Manilla and elsewhere. Its leaves, however, serve for several useful purposes. One leaf can be readily fashioned, in a few minutes, into at least half-a-dozen drinking cups; while by gently heating an entire leaf over a fire, through which it is rendered at once pliable and tough, wrappers can be made in which to bake fowls so as to retain their gravy, or in which even fish-soup can be cooked without any loss of the liquid. Indeed, we have frequently seen a banana-leaf bag, containing a gallon, or more, of cocoa-nut oil, that had been carried safely therein for many miles. Portions of the juicy stem of the tree are always brought, at the conclusion of a meal, to be used by the guests, instead of soap and water, in cleansing the fingers, after these have performed the duties of knife and fork. It does this very effectively, when well shredded, by rubbing between the hands.

Among other edible fruits of Tonga may be

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Niua Fooú]

in shore, even with that depth of soundings. But although the weather was fine when we arrived, the very heavy swell put anchoring out of the question. The boat was therefore lowered, and being deeply laden with boxes of books, slates, &c., &c., ourselves, and the native teachers, with the boat's crew, we made for the shore.

A strange sight here presented itself, for which we were quite unprepared. About thirty men were observed in different parts of the sea, at distances ranging from one to two hundred yards from the shore, each carrying a short bamboo cane with a fishing-line attached, and a *finaki*, or fish-basket. They had no canoes, but were swimming, or standing as one does when treading water, pursuing their avocation. Each man had a kind of life-buoy, made of several large joints of bamboo, from which he received partial support, and to which also his various fishing-lines were attached. These he drew up, from time to time, and deposited the spoil, if any, in the basket slung over his shoulders. Such is the rugged and dangerous nature of the coast, that it is only on very rare occasions that canoes can be launched for fishing purposes, and therefore the mode described above is regularly practised. The fishermen appeared to be at perfect ease in the briny element; and, as our boat passed along, they tendered us the usual salute, and then, hauling up their lines, they swam toward the shore to assist in the dangerous process of our own landing. We were directed, by natives waiting on the rocks for our arrival, to a spot where there was a narrow but flat ledge, to which our crew pulled straight ahead. When within a few yards of the shore, a number of men sprang into

23: Collcott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 cushion, of the mat on which the game is played. The picture is that of a player who is proud of his shot, which is in reality a fluke that owes its success to the cushion. So, generally, of pride or boasting in that which we really owe to extraneous and adventitious aid.

7. *Hau 'o Momo, Loau.* Kingship of Momo, Loau. The time of Momo, of Loau, and of other famous kings and chiefs of old, is used of that which is ancient.

8. *Hage ha foi fa-hina.* Like a light pandanus fruit.

9. *Hage ha fuhi fa hobo.* Like a bunch of mature pandanus.

10. *Hage ha mahina hobo.* Like a rising moon.

These three expressions are all used of that which is beautiful.

11. *Hage ha kai ha toki motu'a.* Like an eating by an old axe. The old axe makes a jagged, bad job of its work, and the expression indicates badly, inefficiently-done work.

[415] [824] 12. *Hage ha tau-si.* Like a *tau-si.* The *tau-si* is a small spout of *si (Dracaena)* leaves so arranged as to drain water into a receptacle placed to receive it. Figuratively the expression may be applied, for example, to blood pouring freely from a wound.

13. *Hage ha teletele-uli.* Like a *teletele-uli.* The *teletele-uli* is a fish about two feet long, with a sucker on the back of its head, wherewith it attaches itself underneath the shark. Frequently it darts forward and filches food the shark is just about to swallow. The expression is used of one who clings to, and makes himself a nuisance to, one bigger, or more important than himself.

14. *Hage koe hobo 'ae mahina 'i Muaba.* Like the moon-rise in Muaba. A woman of Muaba in Eua, which is high, went to Tongatabu, and was astonished to see that the moon rose there with the same beauty and brilliance as it did at home in Muaba, and expressed her surprise in this saying.

15. *Ka 'ikai magugu 'e he nifo.* If the teeth do not crunch.
'Ikai ke ma'u hono ifo. Its flavour is not got.

To get and appreciate the flavour of hard food the teeth must do thoroughly their work of mastication. To get the full satisfaction of difficult tasks they must be taken in hand resolutely, and carried through with determination and energy.

16. *Kai mo tokaga.* Eat and be careful. Used generally of acting with care, caution.

17. *Kei mata ae tu'a niu.* The mid-rib of the coconut leaflet is still green, fresh. This expression means: "The King is still well." Two explanations have been given me; one that the mid-rib of the coconut-leaflet is that on which scented flowers are strung to make garlands for the King; and that he is still well so that fresh garlands are still being made for him. The other explanation refers the mid-rib to the comb made of these mid-ribs; the king is well, and combs are still being made for him.

18. *Keu inu mai ha hu'a Ha'ahao.* That I might drink a draught of Ha'ahao. Ha'ahao is a pool of beautiful sweet water in Felemea in Haapai. A Samoan god stole a pool from Eua, and spilt some of the water in Felemea, and some in Bukotala—both places in the island of Ha'ano in Haapai. The expression may be used to indicate the longing of an exhausted man.

24: Rugby-Pratt M-3 (1922) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau

sialemohemohe seeds, and also a few fans. The second was a *kaitunu* or food presentation. Included in this latter were six great green *kava* roots, nine roast pigs borne on *pola* or litters, scores of baskets of fruit and vegetables, bunches of the prized *taokave* or chiefly coconuts, many fowls, and a quantity of *ai* nuts, not unlike almonds, that were both in baskets and threaded on the stripped ribs of fronds of the coconut palm. The gifts in the second presentation were arranged in orderly rows on the *malae*. These were duly counted by representatives of the villages, who seated themselves behind the company and announced the number of each sort of gift. The food was then removed from the *malae*, or assembly ground, saving that five roast pigs were placed in order in front of the *lotoa*. Behind these pigs a party of natives seated themselves, with crossed legs, beneath the shade of an *ovava* tree, the sacred tree of Tonga. The chiefs and some distinguished folks were ranged at the feet of Mr. Watkin and myself on the *lotoa*, we two alone being accommodated with chairs.

In the centre of the group, on the *malae*, a woven mat was placed over a plaited coconut *pola*. On either side of the mat sat two men, called *kagai kava*, facing the *lotoa*. Beside each was a large, smooth volcanic stone, and in the right hand of each a smaller volcanic stone. These stones, valuable for their hardness, are brought from the island of Tofua. A green *kava* root was produced, the upper shoots, resembling bamboo sticks, were discarded, and the root itself was scraped and rubbed clean, and then passed to the *kagai kava*. Ordinarily the dried and not the green *kava* root is used for making the beverage. Next a native advanced bearing a *kumete kava* or *kava* bowl, set on four short legs. Before being put in position between the *kagai kava*, it was turned to the guests of honour, with the legs and bottom facing us. The *kagai kava* quickly pounded the root with the hard volcanic stones, the crushed pieces falling upon the mat. When the crushing was complete the broken fragments were put in the *kumete kava*, behind which a handsome woman, the *gaahi kava*, or *kava* maker, now seated herself. In more ancient days the practice was for the crushed root to be distributed amongst the young folks who possessed the whitest teeth, and who, when they had masticated the chips, discharged the contents of their mouths on to a plantain leaf, whence it was transferred to the *kava* bowl. This unhygienic method is now discarded.

The *gaahi kava* with graceful sweeps and curves of arms and hands and body, all movements of symbolic import, began to mix the root and to extract its essence, the while the two *kagai kava* simultaneously poured water slowly from two buckets into the bowl. When she had made the liquor of sufficient strength, a strainer, which was simply a bunch of fibre or *fau*, was brought and spread by the *gaahi kava* on top

24: Rugby-Pratt M-3 (1922) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9
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276 574 415 of the "brew." In this strainer the *kava* maker, with graceful movements, carefully gathered the "chips" out of the liquor, winding the fibre around them and wringing from it the last drops of fluid, as she did so, gradually raising the strainer until it was stretched like a rope above her head. Holding it there for a few moments she suddenly, and quick as a flash, without so much as a glance backward, flung the mass into the lap of a man behind, and, exhausted by her strenuous exercises, brought her arms to rest, with hands outstretched and palms uppermost on the outer edge of the *kumete kava*. The man who received the bunch of strainings, at once shook them out on a mat in front of him and began dividing the *fau* into two parts.

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At the same moment a party of men advanced and with ceremonial dignity bore away the five roast pigs that had been left between us and the *kava* makers. The division of the *fau* being completed one part was returned to the *gaahi kava*, who, with pretty movements gathered into it any dregs or fibrous particles that still remained in the liquor. When the fluid was "cleared" the strainer was exchanged for the rest of the *fau*. This was placed in a bunch on the front lip of the bowl, and then, announcing that the *kava* was ready, the woman brought her arms once again, with open, upturned palms, to rest on the outer lips of the bowl.

[415] Three cup-bearers, called *fakatau kava*, now stepped forward, each holding an *eibu* or cup, fashioned from a coconut shell. The master of ceremonies, who was close to me on the *loloa*, and who is called the *tufa kava*, gave orders to proceed. One of the cupb-earers advanced to the *gaahi kava* and she saturated the *fau* with the liquor and squeezed a cupful into the *eibu*. The bearer advanced some seven paces and stood still, facing the guests of honour. One of the party called the *ui kava*, or crier, "intoned" with a very prolonged note on the last syllable but one, the announcement "*Kava kua heka*," indicating in this way that the cup was filled. Thh *tufa kava* named the person to whom it was to be presented. This person at once intimated to the cup-bearer that he was the individual named, by clapping the hands together once and saying the word "*koau*," which is simply the first personal pronoun. The bearer, holding the *eibu* in both hands, advanced with stately step, and with ceremonious politeness presented the cup, holding it as low as he could, in token of respect. The person honoured took the *eibu* in both hands, and quaffed its contents, or if he preferred, merely sampled the *kava*, and then returned the cup.

Cup-bearer number two then had his *eibu* filled by the *gaahi kava* squeezing the saturated *fau*. He advanced, as had his predecessor, a few paces and stood still awaiting a command. The *ui kava* intoned his announcement that the *eibu* was filled, the *tufa kava* called a name, the hand-clapping and drinking followed, and so the ceremony proceeded until some forty persons had been honoured and the *kava* was

stake. For the smaller sizes of root, those which may be carried on the shoulder of one man, and smaller, this man sits to his task; but for the larger sizes, those which are brought slung on poles or dragged on sledges, he stands. He does his work facing the king. When this is finished the *kava* is turned about, so that the root faces the king and presiding *matapule*.

Motu'apuaka then orders that the root, or portion of it, be broken up, proportioning the amount of *kava* to be prepared to the size of the assembly. Men sitting by the *kava* break off with stakes conveniently sized pieces, which they throw behind them into the *toua*, where they are scraped clean and beaten up small with stones. This grinding with stones is the modern substitute for chewing. A white man resident in the group long enough to have seen the *kava* chewed has told me that it used to be done by people with healthy mouths, usually, it would seem, by comely girls, that remarkably little saliva was mixed with the *kava*, and that he himself felt no difficulty in drinking *kava* prepared in this way. The duty of breaking off the pieces of *kava* from the root belongs to the family of Ata. If none of this family are available the prerogative passes to the family of Vaha'i.

When the *kava* has been beaten up one or other of two men, named Ma'ata-fahi and Tuakalau, both classed as sons of Kapukava, orders the bowl, *kumete* or *tanoa*, water, strainer, and cups to be brought. The same man had the duty of ordering the stake to be brought with which the root was divided in the first place. At this stage he also bids the bowl to be rinsed.

The bowl is placed in front of the man who is to mix and strain the *kava*, and the beaten-up root is placed in it. The bowl is three-legged, and at the top edge is a small protuberance with a hole in it, through which a cord is tied in a loop, to hang the bowl up when not in use. It is placed so that this hanger is away from the king and *matapule*, and toward the mixer. The mixer grasps two legs of the bowl and tilts it forward toward the *matapule*, so that he may see its contents, at the same time saying, *Koe kava e na'e holo*, There is the *kava* that has been broken. Motu'apuaka responds, *Kuo holo; tuku atu; tu'umalie pe, kae palu*, It is broken up; let go (i.e., let the bowl down on to its

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

those whose mothers are noble on the side of the Hau, Tu'i Kanokupolu, and fathers are noble in the Tu'i Tonga family), pea tapu moe Sina'e ki mu'a (Tafolo, and perhaps Tamale), pea tapu moe Sina'e 'eiki, pea tapu moe Sina'e ki mui (perhaps Tamale, or Manumua and Lomu), pea tapu moe Tu'i Hoi, pea tapu mo (moe) Faoa Manafa. Koe ngata e tala 'o Fanakava kae ata kae fai hano tala (The end of the telling of Fanakava[8] and it is clear to make its speech).

Before the *kava* is distributed the presentations of food and *kava* are taken outside the ring. Motu'apuaka will probably order them to be taken for Lauaki, who will superintend their distribution, either personally or by a deputy. If there be a chief present whom it is desired to honour, for example a visitor, Motu'apuaka may order that these presentations be taken for his *matapule;* or Lauaki, in making the actual distribution, will see that he gets a large share. In such distributions the chiefs for whom portions *(inasi)* are designed are not named, but their *matapule,* and the *matapule* express thanks for the gifts. Visiting chiefs thus honoured will be expected to provide a good reception when, later on, they are visited in their own homes.

It will be recalled that three men are seated at the *kava*-bowl, one at either side, and one behind facing the king. The man on the side, in a line with the *matapule* who is directing operations says, when the straining is finished, *Kuo ma'a 'ae kava ni,* This *kava* is clear. The *matapule* responds *Tokonaki 'o fakatau,* Make ready and deal out. Then the cups, which have been in making whilst the *kava* was being brewed are brought.[9]

Of the two men seated at the side of the bowl one "calls," that is, calls out as each cup is filled; and the other removes the little pieces of *kava* that adhere about the rim of the bowl, usually employing a small piece of coconut-leaf

[8] Fanakava, so far as one can get information about it from living Tongans, is remembered mostly as a sanctuary. It is a very sacred part of the Tu'i Tonga's ground in Mu'a.

[9] Although cups of coconut-shell are used on lesser occasions the cups used at great ceremonies are of folded plantain leaf. The coconut-shell cups of Niua Fo'ou differ from those of other parts of the Tongan Group in having a hole near the edge through which is threaded a cord of twisted hibiscus fibre, to serve as a hanger.

287 **Tapa making, one of the traditional arts of Tonga, is widely practiced today. Step (1) involves stripping the paper mulberry tree (photo at top left: Milika Fatai, Kolomotu'a) to reach the inner bark. (2) Strips of the soft inner bark are then soaked and pounded to be stretched (photo at bottom left: Kilisitina Fihaki and Luseane Hafoka, 'Eua). The mellow tap-tap-tapping of mallets beating tapa is quite a common sound in villages. (3) Natural dyes are made of juice from the *koka, tongo* (mangrove), or *tuitui* (candlenut) tree. Below, ladies at Halamangaono in Vava'u twist a sleeve of *koka* bark shavings to extract the brownish dye, which drips into the bowl under it.**

[986 824]

'Oku kei lahi 'aupito 'i Tonga 'a e koka'anga pea mo e ngaahi ngaue kehekehe fakau'aki mo ia. (1) Ko hono hae eni 'o e hiapo 'e Milika Fatai (ta 'i to'ohema ki 'olunga) mei Kolomotu'a. (2) Ko e tutu eni 'a Kilisitina Fihaki pea mo Luseane Hafoka (ta 'i to'ohema ki lalo) mai 'Eua. (3) Ko ha kau fine'eiki eni mei he kolo ko Halamangaono 'i Laimatu'a, Vava'u, 'oku fai 'enau taukoka (ta 'i lalo).

3

[p.23]

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(2) Pounding the *kava* root, the first step (above) in the preparation of *kava* for drinking, is performed here by Tevita 'Ofa Helu. (3) After the crushed *kava* is placed in the *kava* bowl and water added (see next page), adept hands must wring and strain the *kava* mixture using hibiscus fiber *(fau)*. The *kava* is then ready to be served and drunk – currently from coconut half-shells, but in the past from cups skillfully made out of banana leaves.

[824] [415] [178]

(2) Ko hono tuki eni 'o e kava 'e Tevita 'Ofa Helu. (3) Ko hono tatau eni 'o e kava 'aki 'a e fau ('i he peesi hono hoko). Hili eni, pea inu leva 'a e hu'a kava 'aki e ngaahi ipu nge'esi niu. 'I he taimi fuoloa, na'e ngaue'aki e ngaahi ipu mei he lou'i siaine.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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With increasing urbanization, many people in Tonga's capital city are finding themselves too busy to grow their own food. Thus, an average day at *Talamahu* ("to tell of plenty") *Market* finds people bustling about buying papayas, taro, coconuts, bananas, vegetables, weaving materials and other items brought from farm lands outside the urban setting.

'Alu pe e fakalaka mo e si'isi'i e taimi 'o e kakai ke toe fai ha ngoue. Ko e ongo ta eni 'o e fakatau me'akai 'i he Maketi Talamahu.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C.Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

afterwards more came droping in to the number of a hundred or upwards, mostly old men and all dressed as above discribed. As soon as they were all come in a large root of Cava, brought by one of the King's Servants was produced, and a bowl which held at least four or five gallons; several person went to chewing the root and this bowl was made brim full of the liquor, and several Cups were made of the Plantain leafe while it was preparing.

The first Cup was given to the King which he ordered to be given to another, the Second was brought him which he drank and the third was offered me. Afterwards as each Cup was fill'd the person who filled it asked who was to have it, and a nother named the person and to that person it was carried; thus they continued till the bowl was emptied which was before half the Company was served, yet no one seemed dissatisfied. As the bowl grew low the person who had the desposal of the liquor seemed rather at a loss to whom he should send the Cups of liquor to and frequently consulted those who sat near him. About half a dozen cups served the whole company, each as it was emptied was thrown down upon the ground where the waiters picked up and carried it to be filled again. They sat as usual with a great deal of gravity and hardly spoke to each other the whole time. All this time did we wait with some impatience, in expectation of every minute seeing the Mourning ceremony begin; when soon after the Cava was drank out, to our great surprise and disapointment they all rose up and dispersed and the King told us he was ready to attend us to the Ships. If this was a Mourning ceremony it was a strange one, perhaps it was the second, third or fourth Mourning, or what was not very uncommon Omai might have misunderstood them; for excepting the ceremony of the green branch, there was nothing in this meeting but what we saw every day.[1] But be what it would as soon as it was over we set out to return to the Ship. As we rowed down the Lagoon or inlet we met with two canoes coming in from fishing, the Chief ordered them to be called along side and took from them every fish and shell they had got, he afterward brought to two others and searched them but they had nothing; why this was done I cannot say as we had plenty of Victuals in the boat; some of this fish he after wards gave to me and some his servants sold on board the ship. As we proceeded down the Inlet we overtook a large sailing Canoe, every person in her that were upon their legs when we came up with her sat down till we were past, even the Man who steered, altho he could not manage the helm in any other position but standing. Having been informed that there was some good Water on

[1] It was in fact the mourning kava ceremony.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

the rack work broke and the instrument useless till repaired which there was not time to do before the day of the Eclipse. Got on board all the Cattle Poultry &c[a] except such as were distined to remain. I intended to have left a Turkey Cock and Hen, but having only two of each left, one of the hens through the ignorance of one of my people was strangled and died on the spot. I brought three Turkey hens to these islands, one was killed as above mentioned and the other by a useless dog belonging to one of the officers. These two accidents put it out of my power to leave of these birds here and at the same time carry a breed to Otaheite where they were first intended. I was sorry afterwards that I did not leave those that remained, as they would have been of more real Value here than at Otaheite and the people I am perswaided would have taken more pains to have multiplied them. The next day we took up our anchors and moved the Ships behind Pangimaudoo, in order to take the advantage of the first favourable wind to get through the Narrows.[1] Thurs. 3

At dinner to day the King who was one of the company tooke uncommon notice of the plates, this occasioned me to make him an offer of one, either of pewter or stone,[2] he chused the first and then began to tell us the several uses he would apply it to, two of them are so extraordinary that I cannot pass them over. He said that whenever he went to Visit any of the other islands, he would leave this plate behind him for the people to reverence in the same manner as they do himself,[3] he was asked what was used for this purpose before he got this plate, he answered a Wooden bowl in which he washed his hands.[4] The other extraordinary use he meant to apply it to was to discover a thief: he said when any thing was Stolen and the thief could not be found, the people were all assembled together before him, when he washed his hands in Water in this Vessel, after which it was cleaned and then the people came one after a nother and touched it in the same manner as they do his foot when they pay him Obeisance; if the Guilty person did it, he died immidiately on the spot, not by violence

[1] The entrance into the Piha passage, 'barely 1¼ cables [i.e. 330 yards] wide'. The name has persisted.

[2] I.e. stoneware.

[3] It was to have another, closely related, use of 'reverence'. 'If any one is tabooed by touching the person or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead of his feet. In Mr Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook.'—Mariner, II, p. 188. The bowl used for this was known as the *kau fakafanonga* or *fafanonga*, the 'carrier of immunity'.

[4] According to some, this bowl was given to the thirty-first Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua III, by Tasman on his visit in 1643.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

but by the hand of Providence, and the consequence of a refusal was a proof of his being guilty.[1]

SATURDAY 5*th*. In the Morning of the 5th the day of the Eclipse, the Weather was dark and Cloudy with showers of rain so that we had little hopes of an observation. About 9 oclock the Sun broke out at intervals for about half an hour after which it was wholy obscured till within a Minute or two of the begining of the Eclipse. Every one was at their Telescopes viz. Mr Bailey, Mr King, Captain Clerke, Mr Bligh and my self; I lost the observation by not having a dark glass at hand sutable to the Clouds that were continually passing over the Sun[2] and Mr Bligh had not got the sun into the field of his Telescope, so that it was only observed by the other three gentlemen and by them with an uncertainty of severl secconds, and was as follows, viz.

by Mr Bailey at	11h	..46′	..23½″	Apparent time
Mr King	11	..46	..28	
C. Clerke	11	..47	..05	

Mr Bailey and Mr King observed with the Acromatic Telescopes belonging to the Boa[r]d of Longitude of equal Magnifying powers, Captn Clerke obser[v]ed with one of the Reflectors. The Sun appeared at intervals till about the middle of the Eclipse, after which it was seen no more during the day, so that the end was not observed; it was of little consequence sence the Longitude was more than sufficiently determined independant of this Eclipse, by Lunar observations as will be mentioned hereafter. As soon as we knew the Eclipse to be over, pa[c]ked up the Instruments, took down the observatorys and sent every thing aboard we had a shore. And as no one had taken the least notice or care of the three sheep I gave to Mariwaggy I to[ok] them aboard also lest after we were gone the Dogs should destroy them; for altho' they had not a dog on the Island in 1773 when I first visited it, they have now got a good many, partly from the breed I left and partly from some they got from a neighbouring island c[a]lled *Fidgee*.[3] The dogs however at present had not extended

[1] The royal bowl, however, was versatile. Common people could be cured of sickness by having the stomach rubbed with it.

[2] '. . . the tents and observatories were continued ashore on account of the eclipse of the Sun, July 5th—and here we hoped to gain some credit by displaying our skill in prophecy, as Columbus had on a similar occasion, but these expectations were defeated by the cloudiness of the weather which rendered the eclipse visible only at times through a Telescope.'—Burney.

[3] Fiji, from Viti, the main island of the group.—'. . . there is little fear of the Goats, as they breed fast & require no care, & one of the she goats was with young; these things have also an advantage, that there are very few dogs; we imagin'd for a long time, that they had none, but what bred from a dog & a bitch left by C. Cook the last Voyage, but the great age of some we saw, made us against our inclinations give up the honour of supplying them with this domestic animal; & believe them that the first dogs they had

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

the family sleep on the floor where ever they please to lay down, the unmarried Men and women each by themselves, or if the family is large they have small huts without to which they retire to sleep, so that privacy is as much observed here as one can expect. They have mats made on purpose to sleep upon, and the clothes that they wear in the day, serve them for covering in the night. Their whole furniture consists in a bowl or two in which they make the Cava, a few gourds, Cocoa nut shells, and some small wooden Stools which serve them for pillows and and perhaps a large Stool for the Master of the family.

Food and Cookery Their food and Cookery have been so often mentioned that it is almost needless to add any thing further, Yams and Vegetables makes the greatest part of their food, nay I beleive yams alone does, these they cultivate with much labour and have them in very great perfection. Fish is prefered to hogs[1] and poultry which are the only tame animals they have except dogs; nor is there any wild animals except rats and birds. Thier food is dressed generally by baking in the same manner as at Otahiete, and they have the art of making from different kinds of fruit several dishes which most of us esteemed very good. I never saw them make use of any kind of Sauce, nor drink any thing at their meals, but water or the juice of the coca-nut for the Cava is always drank in a morning. I cannot say they are cleanly either in their Cookery or eating, the generallity of them will lay their victuals upon the first leafe they meet with be it dirty or clean but the Chiefs have their victuals generally served up on green plantain leaves. When the King made [a] meal he was for the most part attended upon by three or four persons, one cut large pieces of the joint or fish, whatever it was, a another cut it into mouthfuls and others stood by with Cocoanuts and what else he might want.[2] I never saw a large company sit down to what we would call a sociable meal, that is to all eat from the same dish; the Victuals, be what it will is always divided in to portions,

wide, clean & cool, we had the Glimpse in many of the inclosures of pretty young women, which convinced us that their principal ladies were kept out of our sight, as they were very shy.... In the inside of the dwelling houses, are mats spread on the Ground; & a thick upright mat work 2 or 3 feet high which inclosed a Circular space for the Master & Mistress to sleep in, in the Night; & the principal women are fond of sitting within this kind of fender or skreen in the day time out of doors.'

[1] The point here rather is that hogs were forbidden to commoners. All the land and its products being regarded as the property of the Tu'i Tonga, he, and chiefs deriving their precedence from him, had priority over the mere *tua*. All pigs over a certain size were *tapu* except for chiefs: even their 'owners' could not consume them. The same rule applied to large fishes, which had to be handed over on pain of severe punishment.

[2] These persons were *matapule*, officials of near-chiefly status, though not chiefs, who were appointed for the purpose.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

branches considerably with large heart shap'd leaves and jointed stalks. The root is the only part us'd, which being dug up is given to the servants that attend, who breaking it in pieces scrape the dirt off with a shell or bit of stick, and each begins & chews his portion which they spit into a bit of plantane leaf: and the person who is to prepare it collects all these mouthfulls and puts them into a large wooden dish or bowl with three or four feet, & adds as much water as will make it of a proper strength. It is then well mixd up with the hands, and some loose stuff which mats are made of thrown on the surface, which being turn'd in intercepts the fibrous part and is wrung hard to get as much as possible out from it, when it is given to some of the bye sitters who sometimes prepare a weaker sort from it for themselves by chewing it again. They then begin to distribute it in little cups made of a bit of plantane leaf tied at each end, but where the company is large & respectable as our present one was the person who distributes it calls out to know who the servants shall carry it to, and is commonly directed by one person belonging to the chief who gives the Kava. Each person has a clean cup which they throw away as soon as it is drank, and the quantity is commonly about a quarter of a pint, though they sometimes venture on two cups if much has been made. The immediate effect it produces is not perceptible on these people who use it so frequently, but on some of ours who try'd it, though so nastily prepar'd, it had the same power as spirits in making them drunk, or rather producing that kind of stupefaction in consequence of using Opium or other substances of that kind. It should be observ'd at the same time that though they have it always fresh prepar'd—and I have seen them drink it seven times before noon—it is nevertheless so disagreeable or at least seems so that the greatest part of them cannot swallow it without making wry faces and shuddering afterwards.

After this we set out from Mooa and meeting several Canoes in our way Poulaho calld to them and took what fish he pleas'd. We din'd on a small island call'd 'Onne'vy[1] about a league off the mouth of the bay, where Poulaho said there was good water but we found as was said before that these people have very little knowledge of such a valuable article for there was none of it tolerable to us. This island is quite in a natural state, being only frequented as a fishing place, and has nearly the same productions as Palmerstons island with some E'toá trees.

On returning to the ship we pass'd a curious large rock which seems to have been thrown upon the reef where it stands by accident.

[1] 'Onevai.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

by small sticks reaching from one to the other plac'd across or obliquely for the greater security, and of such a length that the parallel spar (which is about two thirds of the Boats length) lyes on the surface of the water as she goes along. It is nevertheless, notwithstanding this precaution, a very common accident for their Canoes to turn quite over barely from changing the posture a few inches when sitting in them, and that always to the side where the outrigger is not fix'd. The same happens if the small sticks fastening the parallel to the cross spars are broke, but these accidents are of little consequence, as all ages & sexes are such expert swimmers that they easily repair the injury in the water by turning up the Canoe and baling her out or fastening the sticks when displac'd. In these small embarkations they will venture several miles from the shore in a considerable sea and wind and manage them very dexterously; but notwithstanding the nicety with which they are joind and though the seams are pitch'd with a jetty substance smelling like amber that is said to be the juice of a tree harden'd,[1] they are oblig'd to keep constantly baling out the water, for which they use a scoop made exactly like those of our small fishing boats.

The large or sailing Canoes[2] are shap'd not much unlike the others; but both ends, which are drawn out to a point instead of a wedge, resemble each other. They are all double (i.e. two joind together) with the heighth of a pretty broad plank raisd upon the rounded part, from which rafters are laid across to lash the two together by, that are about four or five feet asunder. Over these is built a large platform or stage reaching from one deck to the other lengthways and projecting considerably beyond the outside of each. These are made of strong planks and are either flat or rise with a bending abaft like the deck of some ships. On this is plac'd a hut like half a cylinder resting on its inside, or of the figure of one of their common huts divided longitudinally, in which they keep their matts, cloth or other necessary things and where the principal people sleep in their Voyages. The mast is plac'd always in one of the Canoes before its middle and inclines to the opposite side and forwards, sometimes fix'd sometimes made to take out. It is well stay'd with strong ropes & has notches by which they go up occasionally, though it is but short in proportion to the vessel. The sail is of a triangular figure with the

[1] A number of trees produced a gum used in caulking: I have not succeeded in finding out which particular one Anderson refers to here.

[2] Anderson here goes on to describe the *tongiaki*, double canoe, which just about this time was giving place to an improved version, the *kalia*, based on the design of the Fijian *sdrua*. We know from Webber's drawings that Cook saw both types. Hornell's discussion of these double canoes (op. cit., pp. 265–73) is both learned and interesting.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

stiff kind of mat that stands by itself & forms a low partition, which is also us'd to hang around the part of the house open to the wind in bad weather. Women of consequence sometimes sit in their houses in the day surrounded or enclos'd with one of these mats, seemingly with no other intention than to indicate their superior rank. They seem to have no set time for meals (though it should be observ'd that during our stay amongst these people their domestic œconomy seems much disturb'd from their constant attention to us), for the better sort only drink Kava in the forenoon and the others eat perhaps a bit of Yam; but we have commonly seen them eat sometime in the afternoon, and it would appear that the practice of making a meal in the night is pretty common as their rest being disturbd in the night makes them frequently sleep in the day, although they go to bed as soon as dusk at night and get up at dawn in the morning. The greatest part of their Vegetable diet is Yams, Plantanes and Cocoa nuts: of their animal food the chief is hogs, fowls, fish, all sorts of shell fish, and the lower people eat rats. The two first articles with bread fruit are what may be call'd the basis of their food, which they have at different times of the year with fish and shell fish, for hogs, fowls & turtle seem only to be ate occasionally by the better people. The intervals between the season of these things must be sometimes considerable, as they prepare a sort of artificial bread from plantanes which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain till they ferment, when they are taken out & made up into small balls, but so sour & indifferent that they often said our bread was preferable though somewhat musty.[1] They also use great quantitys of the Nuts call'd E'eefee at these times, which is coarser and less agreeable than our Chesnuts.

The method of dressing these things is entirely in the kind of oven us'd to bake the hogs with, but they sometimes roast the Vegetables on an open fire, and though they have a few earthen globular pots they get them from Feejee and are never apply'd to that purpose. They are as yet almost strangers to the thousand destructive luxurys which cookery has invented, but nevertheless have a few artificial dishes, such as a soft pudding made of Talo and other roots with Cocoa nut scrap'd into it,[2] which gives an agreeable smoothness to every thing dress'd with it. There is also another very palatable sort in which is put aromatic leaves as seasoning, and they prepare a dish

[1] This, if accurately observed, is a variation on what Mariner, II, p. 200, calls 'Ma me; fermented breadfruit'. Churchward pleasantly defines *ma* as 'a kind of ensilage (but for human consumption)'; *mei* is breadfruit. Anderson in his own vocabulary explains 'Maa' as 'A sour plantain, by being put underground'.

[2] *po'ai.*

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

not unlike thick Sago or jelly from the Ma'whaha root, which doubtless affords a great quantity of nourishment; but the most palatable dainty, at least to us, is the bak'd root of the Sugar cane & Jeejee[1] which is but seldom met with. A dish of Vegetable and another of fish or other animal food commonly satisfys them, but we have seen Poulaho have four besides his yams for dinner, as bak'd pork, the Crow of the hog dress'd differently, the Talo tops as greens boild or rather sodden in oil or fat, and a bak'd Cuttle fish.

They seldom eat in their houses, but in fine weather sit down under the shade of a large tree and have their meal brought in baskets of Cocoa leaves to them, which is commonly divided into as many portions as there are people and laid before them in plantane or other leaves, with a small reserve in case any one should wish to eat more than his first share. They have some hollow'd wooden dishes but are not so commonly us'd as the leaves. Their only knives & forks are a bit of Bamboo or their hands, but many of the principal people have each mouthfull (which ar[e] commonly very large) of fish or pork prepard and laid upon a piece of yam by a servant, so that they have only the trouble of putting it into their mouths. In general they are moderate eaters, but their method of feeding does not seem to agree with their personal cleanliness, as they make no scruple of eating their pork (which is seldom dress'd about the head & neck from placing it in a round oven) quite raw and bloody and very frequently fish just as they are caught, as well as all sorts of shell fish, some of which are reckon'd a great delicacy in that state especially a particular part of the large Cockle. They are also very fond of every thing that is fat, and to procure that will even dress their shark cut up into large pieces by putting a large piece of the liver between two pieces of the fish, which doubtless yields a very rank oil: but what is worse they will often eat the vermin from their own heads, and have been seen to lick up the matter squeez'd from a boil with their fingers. Their drink at meals is the juice or water of the Cocoa nut, a natural liquor so agreeable that all who taste must prefer it unless habituated to some pernicious artificial one. Nature seems in some measure to have supplied her scanty allowance of water to them from fitting their country to produce large numbers of these, and in great perfection; but it is not the only provision in this case, for they often scrape down the kernel of the nut and by mixing it with water make a fine milky liquor which renders even that naturally disagreeable article pleasing. When the meal is finish'd they always

[1] This reminds one of the New Zealand use of Ti, *Cordyline australis*, the brother of the 'Jeejee'.

56: Samwell1 D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

answered, 'migee migee.'[1] This would not have been worth mentioning but that it shews in a striking light the great simplicity of their Manners, which must be an apology for its indelicacy, at least I have no other to offer except the strong propensity a man feels to tell his friends a piece of news that savours so much of the marvellous & ludicrous. Early the next morning we took our leave of Toobow who wanted us much to accept of some Cloth in return for the presents we had made him, but this we could not comply with. We had not gone far from the House before we met Phenow dressed in his best Habit with his Hair and Shoulders shining with oil; being somewhat surprized at seeing him thus so early in the Day, we asked him the reason of it & he told us he was going to wait upon Toobow to desire his assistance for one of his Wives who was sick—being set upon the Enquiry by this Circumstance I learned afterwards that Toobow is the Chief Physician of the Island & that he is highly respected and venerated by all Ranks of people on that Account, & it appears by his Rank that ye profession of Physic is excercised only by the Princes of the Country, like it was of old by the Chiefs & Kings among the grecians. A medical Person or Physician is called in their Language Fo-foa;[2] how far their Knowledge extends we had not an opportunity to learn.

Every Morning the Chiefs and their attendants drink Kava, the Juice of an intoxicating Pepper, the method of preparing and drinking it is as follows. The Chief sits crosslegged facing his attendants who sit in the same manner forming a half Circle with their faces towards him, a large wooden Bowl is placed in the middle, with some water at hand in a gourd, a quantity of the Kava root is brought in by a servant & every one except the Chief himself takes a bit of it & chews it; while they are performing this Operation, one man is employed in making small Cups of Plantain leaves, another in drawing a plant into Fibres with his Teeth, which they use like Tow for a strainer; these Things being got ready one of them went round for the Kava which every man delivered to him out of his Mouth ground into a mass full

[1] Mariner 'michi'; Anderson 'Meedje, meedje, [*miti-miti*], To drink out of a coconut', or, of children, to suck; but here it must mean sexual intercourse. Labillardière, *Account of a Voyage in search of La Pérouse* . . . (2nd ed., London, 1802), in his twelfth chapter gives amusing instances of its use thus, and his Vocabulary of the Friendly Islands (II, p. 398) has 'Mitzi mitzi, mitchi mitchi', for the act of coition.

[2] This word presents a little problem. It is difficult to say whether the initial letter is a badly-written F or a badly-written T. If it is F then there may be some connection with the now obsolescent *fuasi*, a dispenser of medicine. If it is T the alliance may be with *tufunga*, a word which in its various Polynesian forms and combinations carries all sorts of implications of skill or wisdom, though in Tongan it seems to have had the more restricted meaning of skilled workman or artificer as given by Mariner for his 'Toofoonga'. The more likely guess seems to be *fuasi*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

of Saliva. The Servant then put each portion together into the wooden bowl & poured a certain quantity of Water upon it according to the number of Guests, the proportion of about half a pint of the prepared Liquor falling to the share of each. He mixes the Mass & the water well together with his hands & then puts a handful of the Fibres in through which he strained the Liquor; when this was done he had a fresh Bundle of Fibres brought to him which he put into the bowl & thereby took up a sufficient Quantity of the Liquor for one person's Share, & strained it into the Cup which was brought to him by the other Servant, who carried it first to the Chief himself except there was a stranger in Company to whom they always gave the preference, after that to the old Men, & so on till every one had his Cup & if there was any left it fell to the share of the person who prepared it. They give the root another Infusion which affords them a second Cup, but much weaker than the first. The Cup which is made of one leaf is just made for present use & then thrown away. In this manner did Powlohow, Fatafee & Phenow regale themselves very morning apart from each other, surrounded by inferior Chiefs who seemed to be their immediate Dependents, & it seldom happened but that some of our people (C. Cook, Omai) attended their Levee & partook of their Beveredge to which they were soon reconciled, notwithstanding the Method of preparing it was not the most delicate: it has a strong bitter sickly taste peculiar to itself, it exhilerates the Spirits & is perfectly intoxicating tho' it partakes more of the Effects of Opium than of Spirituous Liquors, causing Drowsiness and Stupidity; we never saw any of these people intoxicated by it nor have they the scaly Skin & sore Eyes by which the Otaheiteans Chiefs are distinguished, who drink an immoderate quantity of it & often get intoxicated with it, for there they drink it genuine that is with nothing but Saliva & the Juice of the root,[1] which may be compared to raw Liquor, whereas the People of Tongataboo mix water with it and so make it into Grog.

As the Island produces Breadfruit, Yams & Plantains in great abundance & that with very little trouble or Labour to the Inhabitants, they lead a very easy and an indolent Kind of Life as indeed all the South Sea Islanders do; being perplexed with no Cares for the morrow, they find sufficient Leasure to pursue their amusements & enjoy the present Moment; during the Heat of the day they often repose themselves in the Shade or sleep in their Houses upon matts.

[1] It would have been impossible to produce a 'drink' in this manner. What Samwell means, presumably, is that a person would chew the root for himself and swallow what he could get out of it thus. This practice was certainly followed by some addicts.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring & sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk, not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in Captn Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors. The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appearance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them, & these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

[1] *kali.*

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cups made of the Cocoa nut shells, wooden bowls of various sizes, different kind of Vessels made of Clay, Baskets of different Kinds, made of the rind of the Cocoa nut, Bundles of Cloth & fine Matts and their Arms, which consist of Clubs some of which are curiously carved, others plain, most of them made of wood, some few of Stone, Spears which are generally pointed with the Tail of the Sting ray, & 3 pronged Darts and Bows and Arrows which can answer very little purpose in War, their Arrows being too long & the Bows too weak; a Groove large enough to receive the arrow which is made of Cane runs along the inside of the Bow. They keep their arrows in long quivers made of large Hollow Bamboo.

The Places set apart for burying the dead are raised with Gravel about a foot or two above the level of the Ground, on which stand two or three Houses which are constantly shut up but contain nothing in them; these Cemetries called in their Language Dano[1] are kept very neat & clean & the Indians were generally displeased at our approaching them. Besides these there are others raised of Stones which are the burying places of the Chiefs & are called Fyntocka.[2] They have also spots set apart for burying their little fingers which they cut off & for their Children's navel strings, these are raised in the public highway & in size & appearance much like a Country Cock-pit, they call them Ejee.[3] Their Manufactures are of various kinds, that of the cloth is the principal, their manner of preparing it differs nothing material from that of the Otaheiteans, tho' it is painted afterwards quite different. They spread over it a kind of brown gummy Substance which gives the Cloth a glazed appearance which might be mistaken for Silk at a little distance; the brown Cloth is the most common & they have not many Varieties of Patterns, it has something of the substance & stiffness of Buckram & it is the general Clothing of both Sexes. Another considerable manufacture is that of Matting of which they have many different Sorts, some white others variegated with black & executed in a very neat & elegant manner, others strong & Coarse; the finest sort they use for Cloathing & to sit upon on extroardinary Occasions, the others are used for sails to their Canoes & to cover the floors of their Houses.

[1] *tano*. It is curious that nobody else from the voyage reports this word. *Tano*, a cemetery in general; *fa'itoka*, the circular burial places of the chiefs; *langi*, the rectangular, stone-built tombs of the Tu'i Tonga and Tamaha.

[2] sic; *fa'itoka*. Samwell's 'Fyn-' may be a slip for 'Fya-'.

[3] *ari*, 'rest mound'. But Samwell has certainly his information back to front. Some fingers and navel strings may have been buried on some rest mound, but the mounds were not made for that purpose. Some were buried in mounds of their own. 'The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.'—Gifford, *Tongan Society* (1929), p. 185.

70: Skinner A-5 (1965) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u

FRAGMENT OF A CARVED BOX FROM VAVA'U

H. D. Skinner

In Vava'u in October, 1965, Tufua 'Utoikamanu showed me a number of pieces illustrating material culture of earlier times. Among them was a fragment about 48 inches long of a carved rectangular box made of breadfruit wood. She told me she had received it as a gift from her father, Fekaleaki 'Utoikamanu, who stated that he had secured it at Tu' anikivale, Vava'u. When complete it had been used to hold arrows (*nga hau*). Tufua believes the surface shown is the side of the box, but it seemed to me to be part of the bottom. Along one edge of the side it has two chisel-cut holes. It would appear that through these holes passed the cords attaching lid to body. Fekaleaki said he had intervened to preserve the fragment when the box had been carelessly mishandled. The decorative motive represents interlacing series of cords or braids, a motive frequently present in the decorative pattern of Tongan war clubs. This same motive is present also in Tongan stone work.[1] The box appears to be related to the Maori treasure-boxes often loosely called *waka-huia*.

Fekaleaki stated that many years ago his nephew told him he had been present when a body was being moved from an ancient grave. When the dressed stone slabs enclosing the grave were moved a wooden box was seen enclosing bones and hair. The coffin was decorated precisely in the style of the box here figured.[2] When exposed to outside air the coffin crumbled to dust. The human hair and the bones were wrapped in fresh mats and were buried in a new grave.

REFERENCE

McKern, W. C., 1929. *Archaeology of Tonga.* Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 60.

1. McKern 1929: Plate IIIC. "Incised decorations on stone of the Langi Katoa, Mua, Tongatabu". Stone on right has pattern identical with that on box fragment.
2. The line drawing is by K. M. Peters.

[436 cont.]

175 439 237 227 171 tortoise-shell, but in shape exactly resembling the Taheitee fish-hooks, called witte-witte (11); some of which were near seven inches

11. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p.218. Also Parkinson's Journal, p. 77, and Tab. XIII. fig 25.

175 439 301 [237] [824] [531] long. They likewise bought their shells, which hung on the breast, their necklaces, bracelets of mother of pearl, and cylindrical sticks for the ear. They had the neatest ornamental combs that can be imagined, consisting of a number of little flat sticks about five inches long, of a yellow wood like box, most firmly and elegantly connected together at the bottom by a tissue of the fibres of coco-nut, some of which were of their natural colour, and others dyed black.

175 285 531 These fibres were likewise employed [437] in making a great variety of baskets, wrought with regular compartments of two colours, brown and black, or sometimes all brown, and ornamented with rows of round flat beads, which were made by cutting pieces of shells into that shape. The taste and the workmanship of these baskets were elegant in the highest degree, and varied into different forms and

175 171 515 415 824 patterns. Those little stools, which serve as pillows for the head, were much more frequent here than at Taheitee; flattish bowls, in which they place their meat, and spatulas with which they mix up the bread-fruit paste, were likewise in great abundance, and made of the club-wood (casuarina equistifeolia), which had this name from supplying all the islanders in the South Sea with

175 411 weapons. The clubs of the people of this isle, were of an infinite variety of shapes, and many of them so ponderous that we could scarce manage them with one hand; the most common form was quadrangular, so as to make a rhomboid at the broad end, and gradually tapering into a round handle at the other. But many were spatulated, flattish,

[455 cont.]
175 We likewise
534 found a new musical instrument, consisting of eight, nine, or ten
[283] slender reeds, about nine inches long, joined to each other by some fibres of coco-nut core. The length of its reeds [456] seldom varied much, and the long and short ones were placed promiscuously; a notch was formed at the top of each, and the method of playing was only to slide the instrument backwards and forwards along the lips. It had commonly not above four or five different notes, and we never
[171] met with one which included a whole octave. Its resemblance to the syrinx, or Pan's flute of the civilized Greeks, dignified it much
175 more than any music which it contained. From the method of playing
533 it, the lovers of music will easily conceive that this divine art
[184] is entirely in its infancy among the inhabitants. The vocal part, which is the same as we had already observed it at Ea-oowhe, is very far from being unharmonious, and the women beat time to it by snapping their fingers very exactly; but its whole extent is only of
175 four notes, and therefore cannot admit of any variety. They had like-
534 wise a flute of a bamboo-reed, nearly of the thickness of a German
171 flute, which they played with the nostrils, like the Taheitians.
175 They commonly had ornamented it with various little figures, burnt
53 in, and pierced four or five holes in it, whereas the Taheitian flute
322 had but three in all. The method of ornamenting wood by burning
[534] figures into it, was frequently observed in their bowls and various
[171] other utensils.
[415]

175 It was near sun-set when we returned on board with our collection,
609 and found the vessels still surrounded by many canoes, and the natives
[831] swimming about extremely [457] vociferous. Among them were a considerable
[171] number of women, who wantoned in the water like amphibious creatures,

[466 cont.]

175 natives; but they all agreed in telling us, that he was their (19)
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19. The same word in the Taheitee dialect is pronounced Aree.

Areeghee or king. They added that his name was Latoo-Nipooroo, of
175
197 which we concluded [467] that the former part (Latoo) was a title,
171 it being same which Schouten and Le Maire, the Dutch navigators in
[565] the year 1616, found at the Cocos, Traytors, and Horne islands,
which are situated in this neighbourhood, only a few degrees to the
northward (20). We were confirmed in this opinion by the great

20. See Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, 2 vols. quarto, 1771. London. Vol. II. p. 27, 28, &c.

correspondence of the vocabularies, which these intelligent seamen
have left us, with the language which was spoken at Tonga-Tabboo,
and still more so by the entire similarity in the behaviour and
175 customs of these islanders. The captains walked up to the Latoo,
565 and made him a number of presents, which he received with so much
431 gravity and seeming indifference, as bordered upon stupidity. Amongst
609 other things they put a shirt on him, with a great deal of trouble,
[157] because his behaviour was most aukwardly passive. He did not return
any thanks for the presents which he received, till an old woman
sitting behind him, had repeatedly excited him to express his
[201] gratitude. Upon this he held each separate article over his head,
and pronounced the word fagafetai, like the meanest of his subjects.
175 The priest, who had led our captains to the places of worship, on the
565 first day after our arrival, was seated in the same circle, and drank
276 vast quantities of the intoxicating pepper-water(21), which was
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[467 cont.]

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21. Called awa at Taheitee, and kawa at Tonga-Tabboo, and Horne Island,

[468] served in little square cups made of banana-leaves curiously folded. At his desire, we were very politely presented with this dainty beverage, and in pure civility tasted of it. It had a nauseous insipid taste, which was afterwards followed by a strong pungency, and its colour was somewhat milky. The holy man took such large and frequent draughts of this stuff every evening, as to become perfectly intoxicated. No wonder then that his memory failed him, when he was at prayer (see p. 454) that his whole habit of body was lean and scabby, his face wrinkled, and his eyes red, and "purging thick amber (22)." He had great authority among all the people, and a

22. Shakespeare.

number of servants attended to supply him with replenished cups. The presents which he received from us, he retained in his own custody, whereas Attagha and several other chiefs, gave up to their superiors whatever the captains had presented to them. The priest had a daughter, who received many presents from our people. She was extremely well featured, and fairer than most of the women of this country, who seemed to pay her some degree of deference. A fairer complexion, and softer features than those of the common people, are the natural effects of an easy inactive life, unexposed to the blaze of a tropical sun, and pampered with a profusion of the best productions of the country. Must we not conclude therefore that the beginnings of luxury will be introduced even here under the cloak of [469] religion, and that another nation will be added to the many dupes of voluptuous priest-craft? So small a spark as the cunning

[See pp. 43-44 of HRAF manuscript--Analyst.]

175 [470 cont.]
648 venture to determine, though I am inclined to adopt the former opinion.
609 Captain Wallis probably saw Cocos and Traitors Islands in 1767, which
000 he called Boscawen's and Keppel's Isles; but his people did the natives no hurt, except frightening them with the discharge of a single musket. M. de Bougainville saw some of the north-eastermost isles belonging to this group, of which the inhabitants had the same general character. He called his discovery the Archipel des Navigateurs,
175 justly enough, as many ships have fallen in with it. Since Tasman's
648 time, no other navigator has had any intercourse with the isle of
175 Amsterdam, which he discovered, previous to our arrival. During a
178 space, therefore, of one hundred and thirty years, they have not materially changed their manners, dresses, way of living, disposition,
175 &c. &c. Our ignorance of their language prevented our obtaining
439 positive proof that they still preserved, by tradition, the memory
[124] of former visitors; but they possessed some nails, which must have
[412] been brought to the island in Tasman's time. [471] We purchased one of these nails, which was very small and almost consumed with rust, but had been carefully preserved by being fixed on a wooden handle, probably to serve the purposes of a googe or borer, and is
[415] now deposited in the British Museum. We likewise bought some small earthen pots, perfectly black with soot on the outside, and suspected them to be memorials of Tasman's voyage; but afterwards we rather believed that they were manufactured by the natives themselves. The accounts of Schouten, Tasman, and M. de Bougainville agree
175 with ours, in respect of the agility with which the natives committed
171 petty thefts. Tasman and captain Wallis have likewise observed their
[648] custom of cutting off the little finger; and according to Schouten's
[304]
[565]

[186 cont.]

The island of Namoka, which we left after a stay of two days only, was not above fifteen miles in circuit, but seemed to be remarkably populous. It lies in 20° 17' S. and 174° 32' W. In the group of islands which appeared around it, its size was the most considerable but all seemed to be well inhabited, and very rich in vegetable productions. They are situated on a kind of bank, on which there is from nine to sixty and seventy fathom water, and the soil is probably the same in every island. Namoka consists, like Tonga-Tabboo, of a coral-rock, covered with a rich mould on which all sorts of vegetables thrive. We had no time to examine the hillock in its centre, which seems to have had a different origin, and may perhaps be volcanic. At present it is wholly covered with the richest groves, like the rest of the island. The abundance of fresh water in the pond, is an advantage which the people of Namoka enjoy [187] in preference to those of Tonga-Tabboo; but it does not appear that they bathe so regularly as the Taheitians, perhaps because the stagnant water is not very inviting. Its advantage is however so much felt, that the natives brought it to the ship in calabashes, and did the same to Tasman, which implies that it is looked upon as a valuable article among them. The abundance of water, and the richness of the soil likewise seems to be the reason, that bread-fruit and shaddock trees are much more frequent, and all vegetation infinitely more luxuriant than on Tonga-Tabboo. The fences on that account are not laid out, and kept up with that extreme regularity, though they are still preserved in part. The long walks of fruit-trees, and the delightful green turf under them, were rather to be compared to the richest spots on Ea-oowhe, or Middleburg Island. The tufted arbours which vaulted over the paths, are hung with beautiful

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

The flowers and the fruit are used for leis and ornamentation, and the wood for general construction purposes. 1/

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Hernandia ovigera Linnaeus, in Stickman, Herb. Amb., 14, 1754.

Medium to large tree, up to 20 m. or more tall. Leaves alternate, ovate, acute, peltate near base, entire, up to 20 cm. long and nearly as wide, five- to nine-nerved from petiole, petiole up to about as long as blade. Flowers monoecious, white, numerous in long-stalked, axillary and terminal, cymose clusters; fruit dry, somewhat ribbed, enclosed in an enlarged, fleshy, white or reddish, balloonlike vesicle with circumscissile opening.

Tongatapu: *Home.*

'Eua: in forest on seaward terrace near Lokupo, Mar. 27, 1953, *Yuncker 15533.*

Lifuka: in seaside thicket north of Pangai village, Apr. 24, 1953. *Yuncker 15711.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Niuatoputapu: between Hihifo and Vaipoa, Dec. 7, 1951. *Hürlimann 373.*

Grows throughout Tonga, usually near the sea. From Indo-Malaysia to Polynesia.

H. peltata Meisn. in Hemsley's and Burkill's lists.

Tongan names: *fotulona, puko.*

The trunks are used for dugout canoes and the timber for banana shooks and general building purposes.

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Family Capparidaceae

Genus **Crataeva** Linnaeus

Crataeva religiosa Forster f., Pl. Esculent., 45, 1786.

Small tree. Leaves alternate, three-foliate, leaflets elliptic or elliptic-obovate, sharply acuminate, base wedge-shaped, entire, up to 15 cm. or more long and 7 cm. wide, thin, petiolules less than 1 cm. long, petiole up to 12 cm. or more long. Flowers four-parted, clustered toward ends of branches on slender pedicels up to 4 cm. long, petals spatulate, creamy white, spreading to about 5 cm. in width, gynophore slender, up to 4 or 5 cm. long.

Tongatapu: in clay soil in thicket near Bay of Mu'a by Pelehake, Aug. 10, 1953, *W. T. Ha'angana* [*Yuncker 16282*]. This is the only specimen known in Tonga, and presumably was introduced.

From India to the Philippines and into Polynesia.

Genus **Capparis** Linnaeus

Capparis sandwichiana de Candolle, in DC. Prodr. 1: 245, 1824.

More or less prostrate, straggling or trailing shrub. Leaves alternate, oval or rounded, obtuse, base cordulate, entire, up to 4 cm. or more long, pinnately nerved, petiole slender, up to 4 cm. or more long. Flowers irregular, about 5 cm. wide, at first white, turning pink as they age, solitary, axillary, stamens numerous, ovary exserted on a long gynophore; fruit green, berrylike, ellipsoidal, about 5 cm. long, ridged, many-seeded, peduncle curved.

1/ /Hernandia moerenhoutiana --Analyst/

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

137 **Erythrina variegata** Linnaeus var. **orientalis** (Linnaeus) Merrill, Interpret. Herb. Amboin., 276, 1917.

Small to medium-sized, more or less spiny tree. Leaves alternate, trifoliate, long-petiolate, leaflets broadly triangular-ovate or rhombic, acute to acuminate, base truncate or acutish, up to 15 cm. long and nearly as wide, lower leaflets somewhat oblique, with prominent glands below base of petiolules. Flowers bright red, numerous, in dense, racemose clusters; pod up to 25 cm. or more long, seeds dark red.

Tongatapu: *U.S. Expl. Exped.;* in fence row near village of Niutoua, Mar. 2, *Yuncker 15115.*

'Eua: *Lister;* roadside near center of island, Mar. 19, 1953, *Yuncker 15364.*

Vava'u: in thicket near Houma village, May 22, 1953, *Yuncker 16136.*

Tafahi: near road between township of Tafahi and landing place Faihavanui, Dec. 15, 1951, *Hürlimann 543.*

Frequent throughout Tonga, often planted for use as living fence posts. India to Polynesia.

Tongan name: *ngatae.*

[396 313 415 824] The trunks are used for making canoes, for general building purposes, and for banana shooks and the like.

Genus **Strongylodon** Vogel

Strongylodon lucidus (Forster f.) Seemann, Fl. Vit., 61, 1865.

Rather coarse, climbing, woody vine. Leaves alternate, three-foliate, leaflets glabrous, oval-ovate, entire, acuminate, base obtuse, three-nerved from base, midrib branched upward, lateral leaflets somewhat oblique, up to 10 cm. long and 6 cm. wide. Flowers red, beaked; pods flattened, thick, smooth, 10 cm. long and 5 cm. wide, seeds one or two, round, black.

'Eua: in southern part of eastern ridge near summit above Vaingana, Nov. 13, 1951, *Hürlimann 269.*

Infrequent. From Ceylon to the Hawaiian Islands.

Genus **Mucuna** Adanson

Mucuna gigantea (Willdenow) de Candolle, in DC. Prodr. 2: 405, 1825.

Rather slender, high-climbing, glabrous vine. Leaves alternate, three-foliate, long-petiolate, leaflets oval-ovate, lower two obliquely inequilateral, acuminate, base truncate or cordulate, up to 15 cm. or more long and 10 cm. wide, three-nerved from base, midrib branched upward, turning black upon drying. Flowers greenish, about 4 cm. long, long-pediceflate, in long-pedunculate, axillary, paniculate clusters; pods oblong, flattened, margin two-winged, covered with stinging hairs, up to 15 cm. or more long, seeds large, flattened, round or almost square.

Tongatapu: in forest tree along road between Lavengatonga village and sea, Mar. 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15187.*

'Eua: *Lister.*

Nomuka: in thicket near sea along road encircling island, Apr. 30, 1953. *Yuncker 15804.*

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Tongan name: *mo'ota.*

137 278 757 396 415 313 824

The plant parts when crushed have a somewhat disagreeable odor said to resemble that of fruit bats (flying foxes). The leaves are used medicinally and an extract of the leaves is used for wetting tapas to cover the body "in cases of weakness." The wood is used in making canoes and banana shooks and for general building purposes.

Dysoxylum tongense A. C. Smith, U.S. Nat. Herb., Contrib. 30: 509, 1952.

Large tree, up to 10 m. or more tall, branchlets stout and with large, rounded leaf scars. Leaves even-pinnate, up to 25 cm. or more long, leaflets elliptic-ovate, acute, base obliquely inequilateral, up to 15 cm. long and 8 cm. wide, glabrous, pinnately nerved, petiolules about 1 cm. long. Flowers small, sessile, in axillary, paniculate clusters up to 12-14 cm. long, parts of inflorescence puberulent, corolla greenish white.

'Eua: *Parks;* in forest above Fuai plantation, Mar. 18, 1953, *Yuncker 15316;* edge of forest near center of island, Mar. 18, 1953, *Yuncker 15336;* Mar. 19, 1953, *Yuncker 15366;* Apr. 7, 1953, *Yuncker 15662.*

So far as I know, this species is restricted to 'Eua Island above about 100 m. altitude.

Tongan name: *mo'ota kula.*

313 322 824

The wood is used in handicraft work.

Genus **Aglaia** Loureiro

Aglaia heterotricha A. C. Smith, U.S. Nat. Herb., Contrib. 30: 486, 1952.

Tree with slender branches, branchlets, petioles, and lower leaflet surface scaly-hairy. Leaves odd-pinnate, leaflets seven, elliptic, up to 25 cm. long and 10 cm. wide, obtuse, base obtuse or acute, petiolules up to 17 mm. or more long, petiole 15-20 cm. long, conspicuously swollen at base. Flowers about 2 mm. long, on slender, short pedicels, in freely branched, axillary, paniculate clusters, the stamen filaments united into a pilose tube.

'Eua: central plateau, June or July 1926, *Parks 16305,* type collection. Known only from 'Eua.

Aglaia saltatorum A. C. Smith, U.S. Nat. Herb., Contrib. 30: 483, 1952.

Shrub or tree, up to 10 m. tall, twigs and young parts pubescent, hairs brown, stellate. Leaves odd-pinnate, leaflets mostly seven, essentially opposite, elliptic or oblong-elliptic, apex acute or rounded, base inequilateral, obtuse or acute, up to 15 cm. long and 8 cm. wide, pinnately nerved. Flowers small, about 2 mm. long, numerous, in rather large, axillary, paniculate clusters; fruit subglobose or ellipsoidal, about 2 cm. long, brown, stellately pubescent.

Tongatapu: *Setchell and Parks; McKern;* in seaside forest below village of Niutoua, Mar. 2, 1953, *Yuncker 15138.*

'Eua: in rich forest above Fuai plantation, Mar. 18, 1953, *Yuncker 15313.*

Nomuka: above village in clearing near sea, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15857.*

Lifuka: along road north of Pangai village, Apr. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15738.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Niuatoputapu: on coral soil near dwelling, Jan. 2, 1952, *Hürlimann 649.*

1 /Dysoxylum forsteri -- Analyst/

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

137 'Eua: *Parks 16262* [cited by Croizat]; forested area near center of island, Mar. 18, 1953, *Yuncker 15322.*

Infrequent. Also in Fiji.

Genus **Macaranga** Thouars

Macaranga harveyana (Mueller-Argoviensis) Mueller-Argoviensis, in DC. Prodr. 15(2): 998, 1866.

Small, soft-wooded, dioecious tree, up to 8 m. or more tall, branchlets stout, pithy. Leaves alternate, peltate, round-ovate, acuminate, very shallowly toothed or entire, paler and golden glandular-dotted beneath, about eight-nerved from petiole, midrib branched upward, up to 20 cm. or more long and 18 cm. wide, commonly somewhat smaller, petioles up to 15 cm. or more long, stipules lanceolate, long-acuminate, up to 2 cm. long. Flowers small, in axillary, paniculate-racemose clusters; fruit depressed-globose, soft-spiny, about 1 cm. in diameter.

Tongatapu: *Moseley;* thicket along road near Vaini village, Feb. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15053* (male), *15065* (female).

'Eua: *Lister;* margin of old plantation between Pangai village and Fuai, Mar. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15482.*

Lifuka: thicket near northern end of island near Lifuka end of interisland causeway, May 11, 1953, *Yuncker 15980.*

Kao: lower margin of forest near old plantation, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15960.*

Vava'u: *Crosby;* in clearing on slope above the lagoon at Vaihoi, May 26, 1953, *Yuncker 16200.*

Tafahi: forest along path to Piu 'o Tafahi, alt. 150 m., Dec. 10, 1951, *Hürlimann 406.*

Frequent throughout Tonga. Fiji, Niue, and Samoa to the Society Islands.

Tongan name: *loupata.*

313 342 322 415 251 278 854 824 The timber is used for house construction, handicraft work, banana shooks, and other purposes; the leaves, for covering *umu* (ovens), for wrapping fish, and in medicines used for stomach disorders in infants.

Macaranga seemannii (Mueller-Argoviensis) Mueller-Argoviensis, in DC. Prodr. 15(2): 999, 1866.

Tree up to 18 m. tall, branchlets and petioles subglabrous. Leaves alternate, broadly ovate, long-acuminate, base rounded, peltate 2.5-7.5 cm. from margin, six- to eight-nerved from petiole, glandular beneath, nerves beneath puberulent, up to 30 cm. long and 22 cm. wide but commonly somewhat smaller, petiole up to 18 cm. long, stipules oblong-lanceolate, up to 4 cm. long and 1 cm. wide. Flowers small, in axillary, paniculate clusters up to 12 cm. long; fruit smooth, glandular.

Tongatapu: *Cook; U.S. Expl. Exped.*

Infrequent. Also in Fiji.

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

[137] [824] [342] [313] [415] [278]

Tongan names: *feta'u, tamanu.*[1]

This strong and durable wood is used in house construction and other building purposes, and sections of the trunk are used to make large kava bowls. The oil from the seeds is used medicinally.

Calophyllum vitiense Turrill, Linn. Soc. Bot., Jour. 43: 17, 1915.

Tree, up to 10 m. or more tall, stems to 35 cm. in diameter. Leaves opposite, oblong-elliptic, obtuse or acute, base acute-decurrent, up to 13 cm. or more long and 5 cm. wide, leathery, glossy, entire, pinnately nerved, midrib prominent, lateral nerves very slender, numerous, parallel, petiole 1-2 cm. long, canaliculate. Flowers about 1.5 cm. wide, in racemose, axillary clusters, corolla pink, stamens numerous; fruit subglobose, 2 cm. or more in diameter, outer flesh pink when young.

'Eua: margin of forest near summit of eastern ridge, Mar. 24, 1953, *Yuncker 15435;* forest near center of island, Mar. 18, 1953, *Yuncker 15326.*

Kao: in forest on steep, rocky slope, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15883.*

Occasional. Also in Fiji and the Solomon Islands.

No differences of consequence are apparent among these specimens and the numerous Fijian collections referred to *C. vitiense,* except that the latter have white flowers. This species, not otherwise recorded from Tonga, is probably the one listed by Hemsley (Linn. Soc. Bot., Jour. 30: 169, 1894) as *C. spectabile* and by Burkill (op. cit. 35: 27, 1901) as *Calophyllum* sp. (A. C. Smith).

Tongan name: *tamanu.*

[824] [313]

The timber is strong and hard and is used for building purposes.

Genus Garcinia Linnaeus

Garcinia myrtifolia A. C. Smith, Jour. Arnold Arboretum 31: 315, 1950.

Glabrous tree, up to 7 m. or more tall, the trunk up to 25 cm. in diameter. Leaves elliptic or subovate, up to 14 cm. long and 7 cm. wide, obtuse or short-acute, base rounded, abruptly acute-decurrent, subcoriaceous, pinnately nerved, midrib prominent, lateral nerves numerous, very slender, petiole stout, canaliculate, about 1 cm. long. Flowers mostly solitary, on axillary pedicels about 1 cm. long; fruit ellipsoidal, about 2 cm. in diameter, with an apical crownlike thickening.

'Eua: edge of forest near center of island, Mar. 20, 1953, *Yuncker 15381.*

Kao: in forest on steep, rocky slope, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15908, 15955.*

Occasional.

These interesting specimens are clearly referable to the supposed Fijian endemic, of which at least three other Fijian collections have been noted since its description (A. C. Smith).

Tongan name: *feto'omaka.*

[824] [303]

The bark is used for scenting oil.

Garcinia pseudoguttifera Seemann, Fl. Vit., 40, 1865.

Tree, up to 6 m. or more tall. Leaves opposite, obovate, apex rounded, emarginate, base acute-decurrent, up to 7 cm. or more long and 5 cm. wide, coriaceous, pinnately

1 /Calophyllum inophyllum -- Analyst/

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

Fish nets (*finaki*). A fish net is made from the leaves of the coconut palm. The roots are plaited into a round net very much like a lobster net; when ready it is sunk in the sea, weighed down by a stone or some heavy weight. The fish swim into an opening in the net.

USES OF THE COCONUT PALM

The coconut tree is considered by the natives to be the most useful tree in Tonga. It is indispensable in house building, and the number of articles made from its wood and leaves is remarkable. The heart of the tree is used for making walking sticks, the bark for medicine, the roots for a kind of fish net called *finaki*, the leaves for baskets, thatching houses, and making mats and flooring. The uses of the fruit are innumerable.

As a medicine the fruit is given to pregnant women to increase the supply of breast milk. For this the green nuts are used. A newborn child is always given *namoa*, which is made from the roasted flesh of the ripe nut. This roasted flesh is chewed by someone, usually a woman, and when taken from the mouth is rolled in a piece of *fetaaki*, squeezed, and the juice given to the child. This is his only food for four days.

Ripe coconuts are valuable for copra, which is the dried flesh. This is sold to European markets largely, where it is used for soap, candles, oils, and a variety of products. The shells of the coconut are burned and made into charcoal (*malala*) for ironing. Kava cups also are made from the shells.

No native food is considered complete without the presence of coconut in one form or another. Yams, fish, and bananas are usually cooked in the milk extracted from the flesh of the ripe coconut and strained through coconut fiber.

Brooms are made from the ribs of the leaf, and the leaf stem is used for stirring oil, also as weights for tapa which is spread on the ground for printing. The bark (*kaka*), which surrounds the leaves at the body of the palm, is used to make bags for wrapping arrowroot and medicines.

The several varieties of coconut palms have different uses.

VARIETIES OF COCONUT PALMS

KAPA. The nut is gathered when green and husked, the husk put in a native oven and left for two weeks, after which it is taken out and beaten to remove all the dust. The fiber thus obtained is plaited into mats.

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 0U9 Tonga 0U9

NIU UI, NIU MEA. A clay-colored nut.
NIU MATA KULA. A red-eyed nut, used as a medicine for gum boils. 245 824
NIU MEALAVA. A green nut, used as a medicine for gum boils in young children. The husk at the top of the nut is grated and spread over the boil. [757]
NIU KAFAKALA. A great favorite among the chiefs, because of its perfect shape and size. The milk has a delicious flavor. [272]
NIU VAI. The largest coconut obtained in the South Seas. In the early days these shells were used for carrying water and when thus used were termed *hohoni*. [415]
NIU TAUKAVE. Has a small fruit.
NIU TEA. A white nut.
NIU UTOGAU. A nut with a sweet husk which the natives chew like sugar cane. [262]
NIU LEKA. This tree grows to a height of only ten feet and has a dwarf nut.
NIU KULA. A very different variety of coconut from all the others on the island. The nut is the size of a man's thumb; it has no milk, but a lump of white jelly surrounded by a thin, white, bitter skin. The tree is tall with a smooth body.

GAMES PLAYED BY CHILDREN

In the game, *kamotu'u*, several boys sit forming a ring; one goes to the center, closes his eyes, and stands looking upward until a boy from the circle touches him on the foot or leg. He then opens his eyes and goes to each boy in the circle, snapping his fingers in the face of each. When his fingers snap the loudest he has found the boy who touched him. 857 524

In *galigali a toke*, the boys stand in a row with hands on each other's hips. One player stands alone, facing the line. When the game begins, the line of boys starts running in a ring, and the lone player (*eli*), tries to catch any boy behind the leader of the line. While the game is being played this song is sung: "Galigali a toki, tuki be he ulu e toke." (Looks like an *eli* trap, but punch the *eli* on the head).

To play *touhuhu*, the boys hang a shaddock (*moli toga*) to a tree or stick and stand around it with sharpened sticks in their hands. One boy pierces the fruit with his stick, and strikes it to start it spinning around. The other boys then try to spear it while it is spinning, and the one who accomplishes this first wins the game.

Another game for boys is *tafau*. This is played with native bows and arrows. The weapon is made by taking a *kaho* stick about a yard long, splitting it down about twelve inches, and twisting one end of a piece of *fau* bark around the stick at the place where the split stops. The other end of the *fau* bark is held in the hand. The *kaho* stick or arrow is swung over the shoulder in playing, very much as if one

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

Disastrous hurricanes frequently occur, and the island has been ravaged as recently as December, 1930, February, 1931, and March, 1932. During the hurricane season Niua Fo'ou is not visited by small craft. Though the island has been so repeatedly devastated by eruptions and storms, and its condition seems to be more dangerous than that, for instance, of the uninhabited large island of Tofua, still there is no intention of abandoning it for a safer home closer to the main islands of the group.

Its present population is 1,291. The inhabitants are a distinct type, with local variations of the Tongan language due to ancient contact with Samoa and Uvea, but more intercourse with the rest of the Tongan group is causing these old words to fall into comparative disuse.

The "Tin-can Mail" is Niua Fo'ou's claim to distinction. As the harbour at Agaha is inconvenient, and the sea is generally too rough for canoes, the mail is taken by swimmers to the steamer which passes from Samoa to Fiji. The outgoing mail is generally wrapped in oiled paper and tied to sticks, and the inward mail is brought back from the steamer in a sealed tin-can.

THE CHIEF CORAL ISLANDS, WITH SCENIC AND HISTORIC PLACES.

'EUA. This island, which is of great age geologically, reaches a height of 1,078 feet, and has an area of 33 square miles. Although it is as large as Vava'u and contains fertile soil in abundance, its population of 348 is most disproportionate. Its inadequate harbour at 'Ohonua and the sometimes dangerous channel between the island and Togatabu, though disadvantageous to the progress of 'Eua, do not really explain the decline in its population; this is due rather to the proximity of Nuku'alofa with its attractions. Considering that many small islands in Ha'abai support numerous taxpayers who have no allotments, the neglect of 'Eua is regrettable.

'Eua was called Middelburg by its discoverer, Tasman, and Cook had a high opinion of its beauty and fertility. This island is unique in several respects. It has several small creeks which rise from springs in the hillsides and descend to the western shore;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

/46 cont./

303 sinamoni (Cinnamomum--?) and pasiole (Pogostemon nepetoides) are pounded between two stones and mixes with oil (made from pressed, grated coconut meat). This intermediate product is then kept for a night in a bowl in the house and the next day it is placed in the sun. The substance is kneaded and pressed over a metal sheet and the now fragrant oil runs from the slightly tilted metal sheet into an enamel bowl placed to receive it. Plant remnants carried along are afterwards fished out of the oil in the bowl with a piece of tapa. Then the bowl is left standing in the sun so that the water still present in the oil can evaporate; finally the lolo Tonga is poured into glass bottles which are closed with tapa stoppers. The oil is [462] now ready for use. Production is entirely women's work.

303 This lolo Tonga and its method of production are basically an 415 ancient Tongan cultural asset. The European elements such as glass 197 bottle, enamel bowl and sheet metal are convenient substitutes for Tongan mechanical aids that were once laboriously produced (for [139] instance, calabashes). The natives also like to use the leaves of various plants imported by Europeans; the last two aforementioned shrubs, for instance, are not indigenous to Tonga.

303 The recipe mentioned above was obtained on Nomuka. Though the 184 procedure remains the same, the ingredients of fragrant leaves, blossoms, fruits and roots vary, and most women probably have their own "secret recipe." Thus one woman in Pangai/Lifuka uses, besides coconut oil and the Aleurites fruit, langakali blossoms (Aglaia samoensis), mohokoi blossoms (Cananga odorata [Lam.] Hook f. and Thomson), heilala fruit, pipi fruit and pako roots, while another in the same village adds to these ingredients siale (Gardenia taitensis D.C.), tevunga, pasiole, sipaisi and kilimau. (105)

[643] 105. In the past, great chiefs also liked to use an oil that was enriched with sandelwood

/99 cont./

[276] [171] and Fiji, for example, where this custom has also been preserved. Kava is, without reservation, the essential element of community life in Tonga.

[249] [438] Kava (Piper methysticum) is still planted on all Tongan islands. However, on a few it is scarce (as a result of reduced planting, too great consumption or destruction by pits), and the kava roots are obtained from other islands of the Archipelago, often by the bag, at five M a bag (approximately 47 German marks), or are bought by the piece in (retail) shops in the village. When people want to drink kava they take a few roots and go to a house in the village that seems appropriate (with regard to owner and space) and ask if kava might be made. Or, if one or several friends happen to be in a person's house, its preparation is immediately begun, generally /100/ by a young girl (or a woman), more seldom by a man. This girl pounds the root between stones (maka toto lalo and maka toka 'olunga) over a mat (fala tuki kava) and pours the coarse flour thus obtained into the kava bowl (kumete kava). The bowl is the most important piece [415] [322] of property of every household; it is artistically carved out of a block of wood and has a diameter up to one meter and four to sixteen [439] /sic/ feet. Many of these bowls come from Fiji, but they are also made in Tonga on most of the islands, chiefly on 'Eua. As needed [415] (depending on the quantity of kava meal), water dipped from a zinc bucket standing in readiness is ladled out with a coconut shell (ipu kava) and poured onto the meal in the bowl. The meal is kneaded in the water. Then with a bundle of bast (fau tau kava) (from fau = Hibiscus tiliaceus) they take the remnants of kava out of the liquid, wring out the bundle with a firm grip over the bowl and shake the squeezed-out residue (which, after drying, is sometimes used a second time) onto the mat. With the bast bundle a portion of the now finished kava drink is taken out of the bowl and the coconut cup

/100 cont./

276 is filled, which the recipient must now empty in one draught. The work can be carried out by the girl alone. However, one or two young men may assist her in pounding the kava root and adding the water.

276 178 797 177 412 This procedure resembles the one customary in ancient Tonga. In those days, however, the kava roots were chewed; (275)

275. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 189/190.

the missionaries influenced the natives to perform this work with stone slabs and stone pestles (from the volcanic islands of the Archipelago). (276)

276. See H.N. Moseley, Notes by a naturalist... /cited in English/ p. 287.

276 177 415 The old water vessels (hollow coconuts, calabashes, wooden bowls) were also replaced by European buckets. It is interesting that the Tongans never drink kava out of a European cup (even though porcelain cups or tin mugs are found in every house), but only out of coconut cups (277)

(178) 277. The banana-leaf cups observed by Mariner (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 197) are no longer made, probably because it is too inconvenient to bring the banana leaves from distant plantations to the village.

which, with the wooden bowl, the mat and the bast bundle form a natural unit. The bucket which is a somewhat jarring note does not bother anyone, even though the natives have a certain feeling for bad taste (for example, a Tongan would never wear a ta'o-vala with trousers). (278)

278. See page 69-71.

276 574 The kava group (that is, the men gathered together to drink and socialize) (279)

(562) 279. Women do not as a rule drink kava; they often sit in another part of the house and listen to the conversation of the men.

/101 cont./

men /102/ mend their large fish net or if a group is carrying out a building project, kava is served. Especially on the occasion of a major undertaking, such as the building of a new house, there is always a group of older Tongans present who do not join in but, united in a kava circle, sanction the work through their presence in this form. (283)

283. Also in construction work of a European nature (for example, building a cement tank for drinking water, making concrete blocks for a church building) this custom is observed.

Naturally, there is also no Tongan festival possible without kava. It belongs to a wedding as well as a funeral, and it is served at all other festive occasions--generally before the meal.

Very probably the role of kava in the social life of the village, compared with its significance in old times, has not diminished, but actually increased. For this too an important reason may be the greater freedom and independence today of the mass of the people, the commoners. The old custom of kava drinking is so deeply rooted in Tongan life that neither European influences of the past nor those of the present have been able to displace it or even diminish it. Alcohol, to be sure, is very difficult to obtain for the Tongans, (284)

284. Only with a permit from the police minister or by the dangerous way of the black market or non-licensed brewing.

but even easily available beverages such as tea, coffee, cocoa and lemonade have not in the least displaced kava. It, along with the typical wooden bowl and the coconut cups today form a seemingly indestructable cultural asset. The large ceremonial kava gatherings of chiefs which Mariner reports (285)

285. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184 ff.

have today been simplified--in accordance with the gradual decrease of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

331 /142 cont./
342 rest periods, make 110 rafters by early afternoon. Then they go back
335 to the building site and around 16 o'clock they each have an earth-
476 oven meal, prepared in the meantime by their wives and other women,
[461] from the supplies of the "boss"; each man is served a portion (yams,
[264] manioc, kape, bananas, pork, beef) in a traditional coconut-leaf
[262] basket and with it a coconut mug containing fish soup. Thereafter the
[415] work in the village is resumed: five Tongans sitting crosslegged
[516] "plane" the rafters by striking them with the small transverse hatchets
(fale-vatu si'i, toki taha-taha, toki tele) or with the machete, two
natives cut more rafters out of trunks which are brought from the
plantations, and 12 Tongans hold a kava gathering at the site to
"sanction" the building project, while three women prepare the
[264] evening meal. This is eaten when twilight sets in (around 18:30):
[262] everyone present gets three or four fried cakes and highly sweetened
orange-leaf tea in coconut bowls. Around 19 o'clock everybody goes
home.

342 On the second building day, while several younger natives split
313 off and plane more rafters and a kava circle of elders is gathered on
335 the building site, six Tongans and the carpenter go to the plantations
331 (after the fried-cake and orange-leaf-tea breakfast) to get sections
of curved beams (for the narrow sides of the new building). According
to an apparently very old system, these are cut out of coconut palm
342 trunks that have grown with a special curvature. Again the men work
335 with the big axe and the big transverse hatchet. From each palm a
331 curved section of beam is obtained. Around 13 o'clock- after they
[264] have cut up the seventh palm, they grow listless, build a fire, roast
a few green bananas in it, have a snack and then go back to the
village, leaving the remaining five palms of the day's quota for the
342 following day. Around 14:30, /143/ 'ota 'i mango (a refreshing drink
292 of grated green mangoes, grated coconut meat, water and sugar) is
264

/144 cont./

331 342 house is now already occupied.

This house building took 29 work days. After a forced pause [461] of several weeks to procure further building material from distant Nuku'alofa, the work will soon be finished.

331 342 In this way, European tools (or parts of tools) and material, as well as European building methods have found their way into 177 Tongans to build a house has not been displaced by this specialization. 178 In fact, division of labor among the workers in building a house and their compensation seems little changed. This persistence is also evident in the way the Tongans largely retain their ancient building methods.

b) Household Equipment

177 European influences have brought about enrichment and change in the field of household equipment.

352 /145/ The ancient Tongan furnishings of a dwelling consisted 415 essentially of seat mats, sleep mats, headrests, baskets of various 354 kinds and sizes (to hold clothing, combs, fish hooks, tools, etc.), bottle gourds, wooden bowls, lamps (burning coconut oil) and the all important and typical multi-footed, large kava bowl. (376)

376. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative /cited in English/ I. pp. 95, 96, 108; J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. p. 285; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 329; V. pp. 139, 148; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative... /cited in English/ III. pp. 15, 16.

177 As a result of contact with whites the Tongans adopted various European household articles which seemed to them either more useful than corresponding ones of their own, or particularly "representative." In this way, what to the European eye seemed like the "emptiness" of the Tongan house was to some extent filled.

[352] Today, the inside of a dwelling looks somewhat as follows:

/145 cont./

177 the floor (which consists of coconut-leaf mats [takapau] placed over
352 the sand or dried leaves, or of boards [see above]) is more or less covered with seat mats (papa = coarse mats of pandanus leaves, lou paonga) (377)

377. Size approximately 2.60 x 0.75 meters; construction see page 305-307.

upon which the finer floor mats and sleep mats of the lo taha type are
353 sometimes spread. In some houses the roof construction is covered over
352 with tapa. Along the walls stand a few crates, boxes or chests,
177 baskets, also traveling bags and often a small food cupboard (with
415 screening). In front of, or on top of, these containers, in which are kept clothing, utensils and smaller supplies of various kinds, lies the bedding (mats, bast-fiber covers [sheets], pillows) of several
352 house occupants, which is rolled up during the day. On a small table
354 there are often a glass kerosene lamp, a few glass bottles with Tongan
415 oil, a mirror, etc. The bed of the master of the house (married couple)
177 is usually partitioned off with a tapa or cotton curtain (sometimes
352 also with a board wall). (378)
353
177

378. In houses with an ancient Tonga ground plan it /the bed/ is usually located in one of the rounded ends.

Here there are more containers and mat beds or a European-type bed.
353 Many Tongan interiors are decorated with strips of colored crepe
177 paper, photographs, magazine and newspaper pictures.--Such furnishing are today typical for houses with ancient Tongan ground plan, as well as for most of the European-type constructions.

352 A complete Tongan bed consists today of a simple sleep mat of
285 the lo taha type, another placed over it of the fala tofua type and
513 a sleep mat of the fala paongo type spread over this. (379)

(824) 379. The mats are made from leaves of various pandanus species; their size varies from

531 /147 cont./

285 387. Except for the small coconut-leaf baskets generally used but once.

and ornamented with the natural-colored brown and traditionally black-dyed (388)

[386] 388. By burying in mud for two or three days and boiling with manaui leaves.

pandanus-leaf strips; (389)

389. For their construction see p. 313 ff.

some plaited bags are also decorated with pandanus-leaf strips dyed with bright-colored European dyes. Undoubtedly the baskets now being plaited in Tonga are an ancient cultural heritage. (390)

285 178

390. In principle they resemble, for example, the ancient Tongan basket No. Oz. 121 in the Ethnological Institute, Gottingen.

However, they are probably more crudely worked than in the past.--

● 415 The essential containers for storing clothing and smaller things used in the household, the tools, etc., are today simply old corned-beef cases, specially made wooden boxes and metal-trimmed chests. In [177] addition, a few households have European cardboard suitcases in more or less good condition. Closets are scarcely to be seen in Tongan houses, 353 except for small food cupboards (with screening) for storing dishes and smaller supplies, with which over half of all households are pro- 352 vided. Wooden shelves today likewise serve to accomodate various little 197 things, as do tables. The latter have been introduced in many houses, though they have lost their European function, since they are used mostly as places to put lamps, bottles, mirrors etc. Very few households have European /straight/ chairs, benches, club chairs etc., and even in the houses that have tables and chairs, people generally sit on the floor beside them and also take their meals there--as in old times. However, [556] the owner is very proud of such European furniture; for him it is the [574] symbol of respected Europeanism and at the same time proof of his

/147 cont./

352 177 (556) (574) personal wealth, and it often gives him the comforting assurance that he will always be able to receive a white guest properly.

415 178 Among the rest of the household effects, the wooden, multi-footed kava bowl along with the coconut mugs have a prominent place in most houses, as in the old days (391)

391. On the custom of the kava drink see pp. 143-149.

422 412 824 Almost every household also owns a roll of tapa from which pieces are cut off as needed. For sweeping, the natives still use a broom (tau fale) made of the ribs of pinnate coconut leaves, coconut-fiber cord and a stick of hibiscus wood. The old Tongan lamps, /148/ in which 354 178 177 coconut oil was burned, like the more frequently used torches, have, however, long since disappeared. In every house one sees European kerosene lamps, and the modern benzol pressure lamps are also rather 372 177 178 widely used. In the villages, matches have altogether replaced the old method of rubbing fire; it is only on the plantations that fire is often produced in the old way, (392)

392. On the long side of a trunk of Hibiscus tiliaceus (tolonga) approximately 80 - 100 centimeters long, which has been flattened with a knife, a pointed rod (kaunatu) of the same wood is rubbed back and forth with both hands, under steady pressure and with mounting speed so that the sawdust that gathers at the bottom of the trough gradually grows hotter and finally starts to smolder; tinder (for example, a dry coconut husk) can thus be ignited. The process usually takes 20 - 25 seconds; 15 seconds were said to be "record time."

415 177 178 with which very many Tonga are still familiar. No Tongan uses bottle gourds any more for storing liquids. Glass bottles of various shapes and colors are taken for granted in all Tongan dwellings.

000 Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and

/148 cont./ Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and in some houses one even sees alarm clocks and vases with paper flowers as a special adornment. The crepe-paper strips in garish colors probably also became common as ornaments in dwellings (they often hang on the posts and suspended from the beams, because they are something special on the islands which are rather monotonous in color, just as the newspaper clippings and magazine illustrations on the posts and crossbeams are coveted because of their "curiosity-value." Various dwellings display, as decoration, more or less faded photographs of family members taken on the main islands. One very rarely finds radios in Tongan houses; the reason may be less because of the difficulty of obtaining sets, but rather the inconvenience of providing them with dry cell batteries or accumulators. However, as a result of the adoption of European textiles, sewing machines have become widely used. One often sees the small hand-crank machines which are so practical for the Tongan way of sitting; but one also comes across treadle sewing machines, older ones as well as recent cabinet type machines. For laundering textiles probably all households today are provided with zinc tubs and washboards, and in many households one sees heavy flat irons heated with coconut shells. The weapons (clubs and spears) which in the old sources are counted among the "household equipment" have long since disappeared; only occasionally one sees an old European shotgun. In the cook huts, now and then in the dwellings, one still finds some of the traditional wooden bowls and basins which are being more and more replaced by the easily obtainable enamel basins, aluminum bowls and zinc tubs, just as the /149/ clay pots formerly imported from Fiji (393)

393. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

or made in Tonga (?) (394)

394. W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 117 ff.

/149 cont./
have long since been replaced by sturdy English metal pots and kettles. Coconut-meat graters (hakalo) can be found in every household, but the natives have fastened to the tripods (tree branches) or to the simple boards, serrated, flat bar iron instead of shells. On the whole, only a few families still eat banana leaves (or leaves of the breadfruit tree). (395)

395. At feasts, however, banana leaves are still plentifully used.

Today, in all households, there are earthenware or tin plates, and cups and mugs for drinking. Many households own table knives, forks, and spoons which, however, are scarcely ever used, since people still generally eat with their fingers (often directly out of the bowls instead of on plates). Tin and earthenware jugs are common, and often one also sees glasses and glass pitchers for the popular native and European refreshing drinks.

The increase of imported European goods in Tongan households has in some cases increased to a complete adoption of European furnishing which may consist of beds, cupboards, chests of drawers, tables, easy chairs, straight chairs, wall clocks, framed pictures and even pianos, of which some things have been inherited by half-castes. Even in these cases, however, the old Tongan life has usually proved stronger than the compulsion for foreign furnishings, for the owner will continue to sit crosslegged on the floor.

Thus in the field of Tongan household equipment it is to be observed that essential elements of the old Tongan furnishings (seat mats, bed, kava bowl) have been preserved, though in altered forms, that some ancient cultural assets (headrests, certain baskets, lamps, bottle gourds, wooden containers) have been lost and are at present disappearing, and that many European objects have been adopted, which to the Tongans seems useful of superior to corresponding

/162 cont./

245 huo spade they dig holes approximately 50 centimeters deep (diameter 25 to 30 centimeters) in which they plant a sprig (root sucker). They fill the plant hole with earth so that a depression remains in which water from rainfalls can accumulate. The distance between plants is about five meters on a flat area. Every three weeks or so they remove the proliferating weeds with the huo lafa-lafa. After six to nine months the first fruits can be harvested.

niu = Coconut Palm (Cocos nucifera L.)

824 178 Since the settlement of the Archipelago the coconut palm has played a very special role in Tongan culture. At the present time in particular, in view of its extraordinarily manifold uses, (426)

426. The following list will show the all-purpose uses of the coconut palm in Tonga; ("old") and ("new") indicate whether or not its utilization was already common in ancient Tonga.

[262] [252] [231] [303] [372] 1. The meat of the nut (kakano 'i niu): eaten in pieces by the natives (old); grated (or squeezed out as coconut milk) for preparing foods and beverages (old); grated to feed chickens and pigs (old), used in pieces to feed pigs (old) and horses (new); used for making copra (new); the oil obtained from the meat is used to make hair oil and body oil (lolo Tonga) (old), to fry in a pan (new) and to burn as fuel in the absence of petroleum imports (old).

[272] [262] [264] 2. The water of the nut (huhu'a oe niu): especially of unripe nuts is drunk by the natives (old); in an unripe nut it is stirred together with the meat and eaten (old); used at meals to wash one's fingers (old).

[415] [372] [524] 3. The hard shell (Endocarpium) of the nut (nge'esi niu): used for making drinking mugs (old); as fuel (old) and (as charcoal) to heat flat irons (new); used as a child's toy su nge'esi niu ("coconut shell shoes," see p. 272 (new).

[283] 4. The husk (Mesocarpium) of the nut (pulu): used to make cord (kafa) for house and boat building, for fastening blades to tools etc. (old); used as cover for hatchets

824 /162 cont./
178
[372]
[752]
[524]

(old); serves to deep fire smoldering (old); as fuel (old). "Towel" (old), "toilet paper" (old) and to clean shoes (new): the fibers are also used to press out the grated coconut meat (old); the juice of green, warmed husks and the crumbly material between the fibers of old husks are used to treat wounds (old); used for making children's toys (sailboats) (new?).

[352]
[285]
[372]

5. The palm leaves (lou niu): used, as is, to sit on in the bush (old); used to make floor mats (takatapu) (old), fans (old), baskets (old), hats (for example, helemeti and tata faka-polis) (new); needed to make house walls and roofing (old); used in dry form as fuel (old).

[285]
[287]
[412]

6. The center rib of the leaflets (tu'a niu): used in plaiting baskets (old) and fans (old) and in making tapa stencils (see p. 328); used in making brooms (old).

/163/
[482]
[372]

7. The leaf stems (tome): used as carrying sticks (see p. 250) (old); in dry state as fuel (old); also used to keep fire going (smoldering leaf stem wound with tapa) (old).

[287]
[415]

8. The bast fiber at the base of the leaf stem (kaka 'i niu): used to make tapa stencils (under side) (old) and as a bag for squeezing medicines and food (old).

[313]

9. The wood or the trunk (sino oe niu): used to make rafters and roof laths (old); used as posts and beams in houses (old?), as single posts on the plantations and for palisades (old).

[278]

10. The bark (kili oe niu): used to make medicines (for stomach pains) (old).

[229]
[278]

11. The roots (aka oe niu): used to plait fish baskets (traps, finaki) (old) and to make cuttle fish hooks (tailpiece) (old); the juice of roots serves as medicine for abdominal pains and headaches (old).

it maybe designated as the most useful plant of the /163/ Tonga Islands.

245 Cook reports that he came across coconut palms on Tongatapu "in astonishing numbers." (427)

427. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 237.

/180 cont./

501 178 177 replaced the ancient Tongan catamarans (kalia). (469)

469. Natives of Vava'u also use the motor boats belonging to Neiafu merchants in fishing with the towline (fakatele).

226 292 178 824 /181/ The sandals (teka) plaited from the bast of the fau tree (Hibiscus tiliaceus) are today still worn by the men (sometimes also by the women) when they fish on the rough coral reefs.

415 226 824 177 Fish are transported in part in the traditional fish baskets ('oa) plaited of young coconut palm leaves; (470)

470. These are apparently the ones Mariner refers to in his account (J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 309.)

however, they often use European bags, while the small fish--apparently according to ancient custom--are strung on sticks stuck through their heads.

286 463 According to Mariner (471)

471. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

[178] net-knotting in ancient Tonga was a hereditary craft. Nowadays, to all appearances, it is not, though in every village there are a few natives (especially older ones) who are able to make fish nets. As in [824] old times, they use a knotting shuttle (netting needle) (hika) which [239] is carved from the wood of the tao tree (Casuarina equisetifolia L.) or of the milo tree, or a sperm whale bone, and a measure for the meshes (mata kupenga) cut out of tortoise shell or fau wood (Hibiscus tiliaceus). An old razor blade serves as knife. They buy the [465] necessary amount of twine for making the net and ask one of the experts to knot a fish net; usually his work is acknowledged with a small gift (for example, tobacco). Since they are thus dependent 227 [463] on the work of a specialist and the twine also costs a certain sum of [426] money, not every household nowadays owns nets; they lend them to each [178] other. The situation was probably similar in ancient Tonga, through the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

/191/

252 The Tongans prepare their food as in old times in (or near
[343] special cook huts (485)
[178]

485. See pp. 93-94.

on their properties; nowadays, meals are sometimes also prepared on the plantations if these are more distant from the villages. The
252 natives use various methods. Most often they cook in pots. The
415 Tongans erect simple hearths of stones or old corned-beef cans and
177 iron rods laid over them. On this they set an iron pot or kettle, or
[372] an empty zwieback can, in which the food is cooked, while the fire underneath the container is fed with coconut husks and shells as well as firewood. Cooking (haka) in pots is most probably not an ancient
[439] Tongan custom. But for a long time the islanders have obtained clay pots from the Fiji Islands,

486. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

A century and a half ago they also began using iron pots which they obtained from European ships; (487)

487. Ibid.

however, it has only been in the past few decades, with the commercial development of the South Seas, that cooking in pots has become the
252 predominant custom in food preparation. The characteristic Tongan way of preparing food is to stew it in the earth-oven. This is more work for the natives than boiling, but it is still often practiced even for everyday cooking (especially on the smaller islands); on Sundays, festivals and other special occasions, preparing an earth-oven is taken for granted in most Tongan families.

A typical, carefully prepared earth-oven ('umu) in Tonga is today put together in the following way: In the village, inside or next to their cook hut (or, if a meal is planned on the plantation, on a place there) the natives dig a circular hole, the size depending

/191 cont./

252 on the amount of food to be stewed; its diameter is approximately one to one and a half meters, its (center) depth approximately 30 - 60
252 centimeters. On the bottom of the pit they arrange dried coconut
372 leaves in layers and over them the husks and shells of ripe coconuts (or wood); on top of this they place a great many stones. (488)

[823]

488. They prefer volcanic rocks; however, since these must at some time be fetched from the uninhabited volcanic islands of the Archipelago, they often also use the less effective coralline rocks that are easily obtainable everywhere.

They set fire to the coconut leaves, husks and shells (or wood) and heat the stones; in order to make these red-hot they add more fuel. Finally, the stones that have sunk to the bottom of the pit seem hot enough; with a long stick they scrape the remnants of burned-up fuel out of the "earth-oven" and distribute the stones evenly around the bottom and the wall of the pit up to the top edge. The
252 food which has meanwhile been prepared is then placed in the earth-oven: they will place, for example, the cut-up yams, kape, manioc, etc., on the stones (489)

489. On these they sometimes first put a protective layer of waste after peeling.

and spread over them an insulating layer /192/ of coconut husks. On
[415] [824] these they place pouches made of banana leaves (490)

490. These banana leaves they prepare by splitting off the center ribs and holding the leaves over the fire so that they become tough and resistant; the bundle (pouch) is tied with the rib part that was split off.

which may, for example, contain cut-up taro leaves (= "vegetable"), fish or corned beef (or a chicken) and coconut milk (squeezed out of the grated coconut meat). They also add pieces of pork to the cut-up tubers, and on special occasions, as in old times, (491)

/192 cont./

252 burst open and can easily be peeled off by hand. The natives like to roast food in this way on the plantations when they want to prepare a quick, improvised meal.

Boiling in pots, stewing in the earth-oven and roasting in the fire and ashes, these three methods of present-day food preparation in Tonga are numerically distributed in the preceding table of everyday meals as follows: Of the 345 meals prepared in this way in 'Uiha, 240 were boiled, 103 stewed and 2 roasted; of the 128 meals prepared in the same way in Fungamisi, /193/ 93 were boiled, 26 stewed and 9 roasted. According to statements of aged Tongans, the [178] earth-oven was used more often several decades ago than it is today; however, the figures show that the ancient Tonga method of preparation in the earth-oven has not yet been supplanted; rather, it plays an important part on an island like 'Uiha, and is used frequently even in a town near a seaport, such as Fungsmisi.

252 Small pigs are sometimes also roasted over an open fire--
178 probably according to ancient custom--on a spit stuck through their bodies (from snout to anus); one end of the spit rests on a forked branch stuck into the ground, the other the native who is doing the work holds in his hand so that he can turn the piglet as needed.

Cooking with hot stones is seldom done any more, except occasionally to prepare the Tongan pudding (faikakai): in a large trough they mix manioc flour with water and heat the mash with red-hot stones until it boils.

Frying foods (for example, chicken, fish) on hot stones is still done now and then, as it was in the past. (493)

493. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 96.

415 European frying pans, which are now found in some households and
252 are used on the same fire areas as the cooking pots for preparing the
177

/193 cont./

415 252 197 flour-fried cake (keke) and for frying other foods, the Tongans find a welcome addition to the rest of their methods. Up to the present time, European cookstoves and ovens have found very little distribution in the Archipelago; now and then, on special occasions, people bake "English cake" in self-built bake-ovens by placing the cake in a mold on the hot stones of an earth-oven, surrounding it with corrugated sheet metal and earth and covering it with a piece of corrugated sheet metal.

372 197 198 Today, in the villages, fire is produced with matches; occasionally one sees European lighters. On the plantations, where often no matches are available, the natives often use the ancient Tongan method of striking fire, (494)

494. See p. 221.

and everywhere they like to "save" the fire in the traditional way in the form of a glowing coconut husk.

252 462 Preparing an earth-oven is chiefly men's work. They generally heat the stones, peel and cut up the tubers and prepare the rest of the filling for the oven; the women help with the easier tasks, for example preparing the banana-leaf pouches. This division of labor corresponds to that customary in ancient Tonga where food /194/ preparation was apparently largely the business of the men. (495)

495. See Th. West, Ten years...p. 267.

The easier activity of boiling in pots is today, however, usually performed by the women.

252 [565] [198] Commoners probably prepare most of their meals just as they did in the past; the nobles--in accordance with their simplified standard of living as compared to the past--serve meals which are not very different from those of the people. Peeling, cutting-up and stewing tubers is still the most common way of preparing food, except for boiling. Extracting coconut milk with which the tubers

/194 cont./

252 (especially bananas or breadfruit) are enriched in stewing or boiling, is still done as in old times: They grate halved coconuts on the [412] [415] coconut grater (hakalo), (496)

496. This is a tripod made of a piece of branch up to more than two meters in length (or a simple board approximately 0.80 - 1.00 meters long) to the front part of which they nowadays fasten in place of a shell, a piece of iron hammered flat and serrated with a file.

mix the grated meat with water, knead it with their hands, and, with a sieve (made of hibiscus bast or the fibers of the coconut husk), they remove the pressed-out coconut flakes from the now ready milky 252 177 liquid. The popular sweet dish (faikakai) (497)

497. For this they peel roasted breadfruit, mash it (with a fresh breadfruit stuck on a stick), cut the glutinous substance into pieces and mix it with a sauce of coconut milk and sugar.

corresponds to the "Fy'caky' lolo tootoo" mentioned by Mariner for ancient Tonga, (498)

498. J Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 285.

except that sugar imported by Europeans replaces the former juice of Cordyline terminalis and cane sugar. Manioc today largely replaces the mahoa'a (arrowroot /cited in English/ = Tacca pinnatifida F.) which has been pretty much forgotten; similarly, the pudding mentioned by Mariner (who calls it "Loloi" (499))

499. Ibid. p. 286.

is now made out of the starchy flour of manioc roots grated on a 252 178 perforated piece of tin. The burying of fruit and bananas, (500)

500. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 288; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 209, II. p. 286.

popular in former times as a special way of preparing food and at the same time as "stockpiling" in which foods started to ferment and

/197 cont./

264 412 the bamboo knife customary in former times. pieces of tuber, fish or meat and put them in their mouths; in the case of tubers, some also knead individual bites into balls. By far 264 the majority of natives today use European pottery and tin plates 415 instead of the banana and breadfruit leaves used as plates in ancient 177 Tonga. It is only for gala meals that food is still generally served on banana leaves which are placed on plaited coconut-palm leaves or even on pieces of corrugated sheet metal. While kava is drunk only 415 out of coconut mugs, cups and ordinary mugs are today present in all 276 households for the rest of the beverages; the ancient Tonga banana- 178 leaf mugs (513)

513. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...I. p. 96/97; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 197.

264 have long since fallen into oblivion. Meals are eaten in the cook hut, 178 in the open, on the verandas of European houses and sometimes (especially gala meals) in living rooms; eating inside the dwelling means a break with ancient custom, but it has by no means become a general habit.

264 562 Women were never excluded from common meals in Tonga. (514)

514. Even Cook was struck by this (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 289.

264 The once strictly observed social stratification among the people, 565 however, made a sharp distinction, especially at meals, between members of the individual classes or the holders of various titles. (515)

515. See also J. Cook, ibid.

[178] Though the differences /198/ are today less glaring in public, one will scarcely see a person of higher rank dining with one of lower rank.

264 574 128 261 The numerous ancient Tongan festivals belong to the past as a

/235 cont./

412 178 177 [239] Though the popao seems unchanged in principle from that of the past, the tools used in building it are quite different from those used in ancient Tonga. The axes with black stone blades, the drills with shark's teeth and fish-skin scrapers (621)

621. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 287.

have long since disappeared, and new equipment is used instead, which represents, in part, a combination of European material and Tongan form, (622)

622. See transverse hatchets, p. 200-202.

in part, purely imported materials of whites.

501 [415] [178] To propel a popao one or two paddles are required. Special bailers (box at the bottom of the boat) with a handle inside are very seldom made any more. The natives usually use rather large coconut shells or empty cans to bail out.

501 184 422 The supply of boats of the popao type is by no means uniform on the individual islands. Investigations made by the author in 1951/52 for instance, showed that in 'Uiha (Ha'apai) only three out of 100 households had popao, whereas the 85 households of Nomuka (Ha'apai) had about 40, and the 45 households of Fugamisi (Vava'u) had 17 boats of this type. There are apparently no particular reasons for this unequal distribution, for the living conditions of the natives of 'Uiha and Nomuka are very similar. The people of the remote village of 'Uiha--in which, according to statements of older Tongans, only a few decades ago almost every household owned a popao--seem to have simply lost the inclination to build these boats, whereas the inhabitants of Fungamisi (the "suburb" of the urbanized harbor settlement of Neiafu) still show a greater interest in this boat, though there is no compelling necessity for it. One may assume, in general,

501 178 that the supply of these simple outriggers--considerable though it

/296 cont./
canned goods have even been introduced into their ceremonial life. Food preparation shows many traditional features--as among the Tongans and perhaps even more so--along with certain innovations (for example iron cooking pots), and the typical method of eating with one's fingers has also been retained.--The conservative Samoans have probably not felt the need for further changes in their tried-and-true methods in areas relating to their means of subsistence, which, moreover, have not been influenced very much by Europeans and indeed would be difficult to change if only because of geographic conditions.

In both Archipelagos tobacco, a luxury imported by Europeans, has become quite important; the natives grow it themselves to a large extent and also buy it from shopkeepers.

/297/ As in Tonga, copra production in Samoa has become a very common occupation, and to this has been added cocoa-growing. However, here too these new activities have not brought about much change; there has been no profit- mania, and the old social system has proved strong enough to withstand these influences, for the matai take over the proceeds and use them on behalf of the entire family.

The typical women's handwork of tapa-making and plaiting lives on in Samoa--at least with respect to quality--as it does in Tonga. Division of labor according to sex has also scarcely changed on the Samoa Islands; however, in contrast to the development in the Tonga Archipelago, the social division of labor (titles-untitles) has still been largely upheld. The daily routine has remained basically the same in both island groups, and has been influenced only to a certain extent by new duties and tasks. Land and sea traffic has changed very much in Samoa, as in Tonga, but it is noteworthy that the Samoans build and use the simple outriggers (paopao) and in addition rather large numbers of the more complicated bonito-boats (va'aalo).

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

running up to tell us that they were on their way down, and shortly afterwards we were met by two of these gentlemen, Mr. Lawry and Mr. Amos, whom we accompanied to their houses. The road lay between rows of very neatly made matted fencing, by which the town was divided into regular lanes, shaded by the cocoa-nut trees and bananas which grew on each side, forming beautiful avenues over them. The missionaries had very neat cottages with green lawns before them: and we recognized, among many beautiful island plants, the rose and a variety of English flowers, together with peas and other vegetables, all of which appeared to thrive well. By the time we had made our call here it became too late to see much more that night, and we returned on board.

The following morning (June 20th) I accompanied Capt. Keppel and a party to see an examination of the native school. The scholars were all assembled upon a lawn within a fence, which enclosed the school-houses and huts of the native teachers; these were principally young women and girls—and like those we had seen upon landing, wore a kind of upper body dress of coloured cotton hanging loosely over the shoulders, with petticoats of tappa partly gathered into folds round the waist. Many had a species of convolvulus wound a great many times round the waist, surrounding the body with a mass of leaves and flowers; and all had their skins rubbed over with cocoanut-oil, which they use both as a protection from the sun, and because they think it adds to their beauty. Most of them had cotton bags containing their books and writing materials; and those who had not bags carried them carefully wrapped in pieces of new tappa. They were arranged in ranks placed so as to form three sides of a square; and one of the missionaries, standing in the centre, directed their movements by a whistle which he carried. At a preparatory call all the monitors came out and stood apart from the rest, and at a second signal they formed in line, and, led by the missionary, started off at a moderately quick step; the rest of the scholars falling in behind, all chanting at the same time in full chorus, the procession winding backwards and forwards until they formed a figure four deep. Other figures were then formed, until a signal from the missionary called a halt, and they went into the "Fále Lautóhi," or reading-room, a large house built in the native style, where they sat down on the ground in six rows, the young women and girls being placed in the middle lines. A large number of the people attended, sitting on the ground outside. The examination opened by the scholars singing a hymn, then repeating portions of the Catechism, and going through the Multiplication Table; reading chapters from the Bible, writing and geography also formed part of their exercises. In repeat-

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place to see something of the usual occupations of the natives at their homes. One of the things, that strikes a visitor most upon his arrival at Tongatabu, is the incessant hammering which commences at daybreak, and continues without intermission until about noon. To satisfy ourselves as to the cause of this, we entered the first house in which we heard the noise, and found two women engaged in making tappa, or native cloth. They were seated on the ground, one on each side of a log about 6 feet long and 6 inches square, which was raised just clear of the floor by means of short bits of stick placed under the ends of it. Each woman had a piece of the bark, of which the tappa is made, laid before her on the log, and was beating it with a wooden mallet about a foot in length, the handle being rounded, and the striking end square, with grooves in the sides. They wetted the bark from time to time, sprinkling water upon it from a large wooden bowl that stood upon the ground beside them.

In another hut a woman was shaving the head of a young child with a bit of glass broken from the neck of a bottle, dipping her finger into a cocoanut-shell of water and wetting the place as she went on; the little brown head became perfectly smooth and shining under the operation, which was so skilfully performed as not to disturb the child as it lay fast asleep on her arm. They call this operation fa-fai-ulu; literally, shave the head: shaving the chin being called te-lee kava, razor the beard.

In the next hut two men were busily employed in rigging the model of a canoe, to sell or barter on board the ship; they were very intent upon their work, leading all the ropes correctly, and finishing every part with great care.

In one house we found a native artist, a woman who made designs for patterns on tappa. She was at work, and had several lying by her which she had just finished. In a corner of the hut lay a pile of enormous yams, some of them being upwards of 4 feet in length. This store, together with other provisions, had been collected by the husband against the confinement of his wife, which appeared likely to take place very soon. The man sat watching her, and nursing a fine boy, and seemed quite proud of the attention with which we regarded his wife's performance.

In the course of our exploring excursion we called upon the principal man of the place, who had presided at the school examination in the morning. He was sitting alone in one corner of the matted floor of his house, and welcomed us as we entered, desiring us to be seated beside him. The house was in no way superior to the generality in the place, except in being a little larger and having the court-yard round it more carefully kept; the only piece of furniture in it was a large kava bowl, which hung up in the apartment. In a corner of the court-yard lay,

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been collected, the kava-mixer raised the bowl and inclined it slightly over, so that the king might see it, and then replaced it on the ground. Water was then brought to him in cocoa-nut shells by the people behind, when, wiping his hands very carefully upon some crushed bark, he proceeded to knead the kava paste, pressing it against the bottom of the bowl with the palms of his hands, two men at the same time, one sitting on each side, pouring water into it until the whole became thoroughly mixed. He then wiped his hands again, and taking some white fibre, prepared from the inner rind of the Hibiscus bark, sprinkled a quantity of it lightly over the surface of the fluid, so as completely to cover it; and having arranged it with great care, and perfectly even, he tucked it carefully in round the sides of the bowl, so as to enclose and gather up within it all the more solid portions of the kava. At this stage of the proceedings, the interest in his movements seemed to increase, every one watching him with the greatest attention. Some of the oldest chiefs, who up to this time had sat like mummies, now showed symptoms of animation, and turned their heads towards the kava bowl. The expression of the kava-maker became more serious as he seemed to feel all the responsibility of his office, and proceeded with his work like a man conscious that the eyes of Tonga were upon him. Having tucked the bark in perfectly even all round, he grasped the whole mass firmly from below, and raised it slowly up out of the bowl. This was considered the most critical part of the whole proceeding; and his character as a kava-maker would have been lost for ever if he had allowed a drop of the precious liquor to fall outside the rim. The excitement became every moment more intense, and some hundred and fifty chiefs, the principal men of Tonga, watched in breathless silence the dripping mass which hung suspended over the bowl. The greater portion having drained out in this way, the kava-mixer, with a dexterous turn of the wrist, twisted it round, so as to bring it upon the fore part of the left arm, and then, leaning backwards, put forth all his strength to wring out the last drop. His chest heaved, the teeth were firmly set, the muscles of the arms started out and became hard and defined, the brows contracted and shaded the eyes, as he continued to lean back still more, every part of his powerful frame seeming to come into play, and quivering with the exertion; his skin shining with oil, giving to the figure the appearance of an antique bronze. A buzz of approval rose from the chiefs as he threw the bark away from him, and recovered himself with an appearance of great exhaustion.

The kava then underwent a second straining with fresh bark, but without the same attention to effect, when the man, pronouncing a kind of blessing by striking his hands together, stretched out his arm over the bowl, and it was ready for serving out. The chiefs

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276 now rose, one at a time, and went to him with small cups of green
574 banana leaf, which he filled with a dipper made by rolling up some
644 bark lightly into a rounded point. When the cup was filled, the
chief who received it turned round, and, advancing to the centre,
[415] fronted the king, holding it with both hands about breast high. A
man stationed behind the kava-maker then called out "Kava-kua-
heeka!" The kava having been lifted up, the king's spokes-
man proclaimed in the same tone to whom it should be given,
frequently using some sobriquet to point out the person intended
—as "atu ia kia Taaga!"—give it to the singer—give it to the
laugher—give it to the dancer, and so on, but all in the most
serious manner imaginable. It was then handed to the person
indicated, who drank it off and threw the cup away.

123 After the kava had been all served out, the chiefs that sat out-
644 side the house rose and went off without any further ceremony—
[574] the people carrying away their portions of pork, yams, &c.; and
this being all that was to be seen then, we made our bow and
took our departure, leaving the king to discuss state matters with
his ministers, who remained sitting with him in the shed as we had
found them. We afterwards called upon the queen, but were
informed that she was rather unwell after her passage from
Haabai; the young prince, George Vuna, however, was sent out to
644 receive us. He was a fine intelligent little fellow, about eight
[302] years of age, with large expressive brown eyes, his head being
shaved quite smooth, excepting a lock over each temple. Four or
five boys of his own age, his attendants and companions, came out
123 with him. Having indulged their curiosity by allowing them to take
644 a good stare at us, one of the party presented the prince with a
waistcoat which reached half way down to his ankles; another
gave him a large silk handkerchief of a blue-and-white bird's-eye
pattern, which was tied round his neck in a sailor's knot. We
then left him, highly delighted with his new dress, his half-dozen
naked attendants shouting and dancing round him.

123 From the palace I went with some others to see if we could col-
644 lect any curiosities among the houses, and while we were squatted
505 down in one of them, bartering for some tappa, the great town-
drum began to beat, and immediately afterwards a native came
running in to tell us that the remainder of the royal fleet from
Vavau and Haabai were coming in, bringing the Tamahá, a per-
son of the highest rank in Tonga. This news quickly brought us
to our legs, and we hurried off with the rest.

644 The day was brilliantly fine, and natives from all quarters were
505 collecting upon the hill, watching the approach of the royal fleet
of large double canoes, as it came up before the fresh sea-breeze,
the canoes spreading all over the bay, some far off on the distant
horizon, others nearer, threading their way between the little